SEP 7 3764
TNS 1
E TENNESSEE ST UNIV
PERIODICALS LIBR
THE SHERROD LIBR
JOHNSON CITY TN
U18901UL30 83 1 60

The Nation.

September 11, 1982 $1.25; U... 65p

3

EDITORIAL

OUT-OF-WORK DAY, 1982

About all that working men and women could say for Ronald Reagan this Labor Day was that he has increased their leisure time. We could add that the investigation of his Secretary of Labor's ties to organized crime seems to have created some overtime employment in the Mafia hit-man industry, although we realize that the deaths of two persons connected to the investigation may well have been coincidental. But given Raymond Donovan's contacts with organized-crime figures—documented in the special prosecutor's report—we can certainly say that the best present the President could give labor this year is the dismissal of his Secretary of Labor.

The most worthwhile present labor can give itself this fall is the election of a Congress that is more sympathetic to its interests. With unemployment running officially at 9.8 percent—and at twice that figure in many communities—this Administration's most prominent responses have been to counsel fortitude and to trot out a spokesman to state that unemployed autoworkers are not really hurting, because they have the cushion of a guaranteed annual wage. For many autoworkers, however, that cushion is wearing thin, and thousands of them face permanent redundancy.

As Robert Lekachman wrote last week, Reaganomics has shot its bolt, and it is time to take a sharp left turn. The ideas on socialist reindustrialization advanced by Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison on page 199 are worthy of consideration in this regard. We can throw out Donovan now and antilabor Senators and Representatives this fall and Reagan himself in 1984, but all that will be to no avail if Republican tweedledums are replaced by Democratic tweedledees. "Give Reagan a chance," said many blue-collar voters in 1980. We say, "Give him the gate"—starting now.

RADICAL REINDUSTRIAL-IZATION
Barry Bluestone
Bennett Harrison

COUP ATTEMPT IN KENYA
Dane Kennedy

CENSORSHIP AT E.P.A.
Jim Sibbison

TRUSTING THE RUSSIANS
Sidney Lens

DOROTHY DAY
Linda Bamber

POLISH PERSPECTIVES
Daniel Singer

A POLITICAL FANTASY

INSIDE ARIEL SHARON'S HEAD

While most of the press was busy interviewing Gen. Ariel Sharon during his recent visit to the United States, we asked another Israeli visitor, Amos Kenan, the novelist and columnist for Yediot Aharonot, *to peer into the mind of Sharon and tell us what he was really thinking.*
—The Editors

AMOS KENAN

Ariel Sharon is the only Israeli military and political leader with a comprehensive strategic vision of Israel's role in the Middle East and the world—for the present, the future and maybe even beyond that. The Lebanon war can only be fully understood as part of a master plan.

Across Israel's entire political spectrum, there is no comparable definition of Israel's strategic destiny. The right and the left have immediate answers to immediate issues, but only Sharon appears to have a long-term vision. Only he seems to be a resolute, logical, courageous and persevering leader. The trouble with Sharon, not a minor one, is that his logic is a lunatic's; he is a military Dr. Strangelove.

What follows is not an exercise in science fiction, or a scenario, or a prophecy. It is an attempt to go inside the mind of a man who, at the moment, dominates the international scene.

In September 1969, the Palestine Liberation Organization revolted in Jordan. Syrian troops were about to cross the border to help them overthrow King Hussein, but a warning from Israel was enough to stop them. Thus, Hussein was freed to massacre enough Palestinians to restore order and force the P.L.O. to quit Jor-

(*Continued on Page 198*)

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

TEXAS WARNS HITCHENS

Dallas

What a cheap, ugly shot that was at Bernard Rapoport in Christopher Hitchens's article, "Fashion Parade in Philadelphia" [*The Nation*, July 10-17]. For your information, Rapoport has been on the progressive side of every important fight in Texas for over forty years. Since the Homer Rainey battle in the 1940s, and through the McCarthy era, Bernard Rapoport has been a man the small progressive community in this state could count on, raising money for our great populist Senator, Ralph Yarborough, and for every other progressive candidate who's come along. *The Texas Observer*, the finest regional publication in the country, owes its continued existence to many good friends, and one of the best of them is Rapoport.

The "old poseur," as Christopher Hitchens so gratuitously called him, has not only been an invaluable public citizen but has performed innumerable acts of private charity, sometimes going to extraordinary lengths so that the recipient does not even know he has a benefactor. I doubt Hitchens would understand the delicacy of feeling that motivates such actions. I am sorry Hitchens did not care for Rapoport's expansive style: myself, I never cared much for snotty Brits. Tell Hitchens to keep his ass out of Texas because there's a bunch of us down here who'd like to kick it from Waco to Luzbuddy.

Molly Ivins, co-editor
The Texas Observer, *1970-76*

P.S. Renew my subscription anyway: even *The Nation* is entitled to one lemon on its staff.

ONE TEXAN DISSENTS

Charleston, Ill.

I will not disparage the political courage of Bernard Rapoport, or of the thousands of other Texans who, not being millionaires, have suffered more than he for their support of civil liberties and humane government in my reactionary home state.

But in his defense of Rapoport ["Letters," *The Nation*, July 24-31], Hamilton Fish 3rd may reveal more than he intends in mentioning Rapoport's preference for *The New Republic* over *The Nation*. For it is a kind of "political courage" that supports *The New Republic* in its descent, following *Commentary*, to the advocacy of U.S. aid for the Salvadoran military and Israeli expansionism, and the rehabilitation of the U.S. war against Vietnam. Such is also the official line of the rulers in Texas.

On the other hand, *The Nation* is perhaps the clearest window on the world in American journalism—thanks largely to such reporters as Christopher Hitchens.

John Wheat Gibson 4th

PROMOTING PEACE IN THE U.S.S.R.

Sag Harbor, N.Y.; New York City

As participants on the Volga peace cruise, we were offended by Aryeh Neier's letter in the September 4 issue of *The Nation*, in which he claims Anniversary Tours mismanaged the trip to the point of thwarting peace and endangering the human rights of Soviet citizens. On the contrary, Anniversary Tours should be congratulated for its tour, which we're sure *will* promote peace, despite the interference of Neier.

Neier implies that Anniversary Tours frustrated the Helsinki Watch Committee's efforts to cable tour members in order to help them contact the leader of an underground Soviet peace group. We doubt this was the case. There *were* schedule changes; one *does* call Intourist to reach travelers in a big city; it's *not* improper to inquire about the nature of a cable—Is it an emergency? Will it offend the host government, thereby jeopardizing future tours?

More significant than Neier's dealings with the tour company is the tour's goal—promoting peace. The 165 of us on the trip met with Soviet peace committees in Volgograd, Kiev and Leningrad. We attended seminars and held discussions with Soviet and American speakers on disarmament, the nuclear freeze, the cold war, dissent, Soviet Jewry, women, Chile and Poland, El Salvador and Afghanistan, political repression, religion. We visited a Pioneer camp, day-care centers, museums, churches, department stores. We talked informally with our Russian "experts" on the boat and with people we met in parks, on the streets, in restaurants, on airplanes. We learned about Soviet peoples—their cultures, their histories, their desire for peace. This is what Anniversary Tours planned. This promotes peace. And, yes, some of our members *did* meet with dissidents.

What does *not* promote peace is a formal hidden agenda of contacting Soviet dissidents. Such actions, aside from being disrespectful of the hospitality of the Soviet government to a large group of tourists, undermine the objectives of a peace tour, confirming the longstanding Soviet fear of outside meddling, particularly American meddling.

We are sure the Helsinki Watch Committee (an organization we admire) has better ways of aiding Soviet dissidents.

Judith Long
Carole Kraemer

LABOR DAY SOLIDARITY

New York City

The United States, which once prided itself on being the "land of opportunity," is fast becoming the nation of the "give-back." This is most obvious in the economic area, as one by one unions in the automobile, steel, publishing and other industries make concessions of hard-won rights to management in order to save their members' jobs. But there are other give-backs as well, hastened by rising unemployment and growing reaction in Washington. The rights so dearly bought by minorities, women and civil liberties groups are being snatched from them. All working people, unionized or not, are hard hit by supply-side economics, which takes from the social services and gives to the military and the dominant corporations. Women's reproductive rights are threatened by a spurious federalism that would take away a woman's freedom to choose. Scholarly inquiry and freedom of expression in the arts are jeopardized by a rising incidence of censorship and a curtailment of government funding that shrink the opportunities for research and expression.

On this Labor Day, the American Writers Congress, which is seeking to better the lot of this country's writers and artists, expresses solidarity with our fellow workers everywhere who are fighting against the give-back and for their jobs, their dignity and their liberties.

Executive Committee,
American Writers Congress

CITIZENS PARTY'S EFFORT MEAGER

Seattle, Wash.

It is misleading to claim that Michael Preston's election to the Seattle school board was a victory for the Citizens Party [editorial, "That Other Party," *The Nation*, July 3].

Seattle elections are nonpartisan—party affiliations do not appear on the ballot. Only with a massive canvassing and publicity drive could the Citizens Party have informed voters that Preston was its candidate. The party's electioneering effort last fall can charitably be called meager. I doubt whether a thousand people knew that Preston was endorsed by the Citizens Party.

What they knew was that Preston was *everyone's* candidate. He was endorsed by, among others, the county Democrats, a Republican club, the teachers' union and both daily papers. He won by a landslide, and surely would have done so without the Citizens Party's endorsement.

Greg Darby

REPLY

On the recommendation of its search committee, the Seattle Citizens Party solicited Michael Preston's entrance in the race. He agreed to run, joined the party and subsequently received the other endorsements. The Citizens Party deserves significant credit for its role in the coalition that elected him.

—The Editors

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 235, Number 7

LETTERS
194

EDITORIALS
193 Out-of-Work Day, 1982
195 Fair Exchanges
196 The Death Lobby
197 The Refuseniks *Samuel J. Stoloff*

ARTICLES
193 A Political Fantasy: Inside Ariel Sharon's Head *Amos Kenan*
199 Radical Reindustrialization: Plan for People—Not Profits *Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison*
205 Coup Attempt in Kenya: Cracks in the Facade *Dane Kennedy*
207 Reagan and the World Bank: Cutting Off Your Own Best Friend *Cheryl Payer*
208 Confessions of a P.R. Man: Censorship at the New E.P.A. *Jim Sibbison*
210 "You Can't Trust the Russians": The Most Dangerous Cliché *Sidney Lens*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
212 Miller: Dorothy Day: A Biography *Linda Bamber*
214 Ascherson: The Polish August: The Self-Limiting Revolution
Weschler: Solidarity: Poland in The Season of its Passion
Konwicki: The Polish Complex *Daniel Singer*
215 Mack Smith: Mussolini *Hans Koning*
216 McLellan: Ear on Washington: A Chrestomathy of Scandal, Rumor and Gossip Among The Capital's Elite *Christopher Hitchens*
217 Blurbs *Randy Cohen*
218 Chavkin: The Murder of Chile: Eyewitness Accounts of The Coup, the Terror, and the Resistance Today *Jonathan E. Maslow*
219 Films *Robert Hatch*

Drawings by Robert Grossman

Editor, Victor Navasky

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editor,* Kai Bird; *Assistant Editor,* Eric Etheridge; *Literary Editor,* Katha Pollitt; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Elena Brunet; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Editor,* Janet Gold; *Assistant Copy Editor,* Judith Long; *Editorial Assistant,* JoAnn Wypijewski; *Editorial Secretary,* Ola Lyon; *Interns,* Jeff Biddulph, Jonathan Birchall, Sam Delson, Darcy Frey, Alice Garbarini, Richard Kaye, Jane Oski, Jeff Schwaber, Nancy Schwartz, Sara Seigle. *On leave,* Barbara Dudley Davis, Robert Sherrill.

Advertising Manager, Carole Kraemer; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Gertrude Silverston; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Subscription Manager,* Stephen W. Soule; *Customer Service,* Jonathan Sylbert; *Classified,* Virginia Cannon; *Director of Development and Publicity,* Laurie Lipper; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Nation Associates,* Claudine Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen; *Publishing Consultant,* Jack Berkowitz.

Departments: Architecture, Jane Holtz Kay; *Films,* Robert Hatch; *Music,* David Hamilton; *Correspondents: Washington, D.C.,* Christopher Hitchens; *Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *Europe,* Daniel Singer; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*), Elizabeth Farnsworth & Stephen Talbot (*Dispatches*). *Contributing Editors:* Blair Clark, Herman Schwartz, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Robert Lekachman, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1982 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel.: 212-242-8400. *Subscription Mail Address:* Nation Subscription Service, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Regular Subscription Price: One year, $35; two years, $65; six months, $17.50. Add $7 per year postage Canada, Mexico; $13 per year other foreign. All foreign subscriptions must be paid in equivalent U.S. funds. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days of publication date; back issues available $3 prepaid ($4 foreign). **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries should be sent to: *The Nation,* Subscription Services, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305.

EDITORIALS.

Fair Exchanges

Following the speedy police crackdown in June on a handful of artists, scientists, engineers and others who organized an independent peace group in Moscow, we wrote: "Participants in the June 12 rally, and all who share their commitment, should join in protesting these arrests to the Soviet authorities" ["Very Civil Disobedience," *The Nation*, June 26]. Most leading U.S. peace organizations did protest to Soviet authorities, many of them repeatedly. On August 25, members of the War Resisters League, SANE, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the American Friends Service Committee, Mobilization for Survival and several other peace groups staged a demonstration in front of the Soviet mission to the United Nations. Five representatives of the demonstrators were permitted to enter the Soviet mission, where they discussed with the First Secretary such matters as the confinement in a mental hospital since August 6 of Sergei Batovrin, the 25-year-old organizer of the Moscow group.

So far, the results of the protests are not encouraging.

The Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
Johnson City, Tennessee
SEP 7 1982

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Veteran peace activists Mike Jendrzejczyk and David McReynolds emerged from the Soviet mission to report that though he and his colleagues had been received with courtesy, he was appalled at the blunt way they were told that protest, like everything else, is run by the state in the Soviet Union. Despite the apparent intractability of Soviet authorities, we hope the peace groups will persist in calling attention to the Russian dissidents' plight. We share the view, frequently expressed by dissenters in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, that drawing world attention to their situation is their best protection.

We also believe that the best way to ventilate our differences and work toward a true peace with the Soviet Union is through continued cultural exchange. *The Nation* recently helped sponsor two "Volga Peace Cruises," which involved more than 300 Americans engaging in polite but firm dialogue with Russians in Moscow, Rostov-on-Don, Volgograd, Togliatti, Ulyanovsk, Kazan, Kiev and Leningrad. *The Nation* staff members who took the cruise differ among themselves on the extent to which civility interfered with an honest exchange of views and on how much of what they saw and heard was in the Potemkin Village tradition. But they are unanimous in praising the trip as a demythologizing and clarifying experience. They observed the limits of the Soviet definition of tolerable dissent and the difference between Soviet and American peace demonstrations (the former are organized by the government and the latter are organized against the government), but they also met many Soviet citizens who shared their own desire that the two nations substitute the risks of peace for the risks of war.

Acknowledging the ideological rigidity of Soviet authorities should not, of course, blind us to its equivalent among our homegrown pundits—Dorothy Rabinowitz writing in *The Wall Street Journal*, for example—who portray the U.S. peace movement as solely composed of Soviet dupes. Their rigidity extends to failing to report American peace group protests against the Soviet Union. If it doesn't conform to the preconceptions, ignore it, seems to be the view of the establishment apparatchiks.

REAGAN AND THE PALESTINIANS

Last week, President Reagan issued his first serious policy pronouncement on the Middle East, and readers will be forgiven if they thought some of the basics of the President's proposal sounded familiar. Reagan could have borrowed a couple of his points from *The Nation*'s editorials, namely, a freeze on Israeli settlements in the West Bank and a commitment to full Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank and Gaza, possibly in federation with Jordan. We regret, however, that he didn't combine his commitment to Israeli security (which we also share) with a recognition that *national* self-determination for the Palestinians is essential. Also, the so-called "Jordanian solution" is not viable until the Hashemite kingdom, a majority of whose citizens are already Palestinians, becomes a genuine democracy.

A fruitful alternative to the V.D.T. cold warriors of the press was offered last week at Colby-Sawyer College in New London, New Hampshire, where a group of New England editors met with several of their Russian counterparts. While we expect no converts on either side, the session is at least proof that the journalistic convention of hearing both sides of the story is alive and well.

The Death Lobby

Funerals are the third highest single expenditure in the budgets of most Americans. The average cost of a funeral is $2,500, and the industry takes in about $5.2 billion annually. Often dazed by grief, people who arrange funerals are fair game for unscrupulous funeral directors. A Pennsylvania woman planning her mother's funeral was told that a state law required her to purchase a sealed casket and to have her mother embalmed. No such law exists. A Baltimore funeral home charged for an in-house rabbi although the family had provided its own, and for body deodorants although the body was not viewed and burial took place the day after death. A Connecticut woman who tried to compare funeral costs was unable to find a single funeral parlor within twenty-five miles of her home that would give her information about the comparative costs of cremation and regular burial. Some funeral directors embalm without permission; others make it almost impossible to buy a plain inexpensive casket; and many refuse to provide price lists or itemized bills.

After a ten-year study, the Federal Trade Commission approved a regulation this July requiring funeral homes to give itemized price information, over the telephone if asked; banning misrepresentations of legal, crematory or cemetery requirements; and prohibiting embalming or other optional services unless these are requested. An independent survey showed that the rule would not overly burden the funeral directors.

The rule may never go into effect, though. In 1980, even before the regulation was issued, the funeral directors succeeded in getting the House of Representatives to nullify the commission's authority to issue it. Although that action was later rescinded by a House-Senate conference committee, Congress subsequently adopted a limited legislative veto by which F.T.C. rules can be repealed if both chambers agree.

When the new Congress convenes in January, a resolution vetoing the rule will be immediately introduced. If Congress's action this May in rejecting the commission's used-car rule is any indication, the funeral rule will be vetoed.

One would have thought that used-car dealers would be among the least successful lobbyists in Washington—only Congress ranks lower in public esteem. But money is a great equalizer, and the dealers spread a lot of it around.

In 1975, Congress told the F.T.C. to do something about abuses in used-car sales. The commission compiled a voluminous record of 8,323 pages of testimony from 212 witnesses in six cities; it also received 1,681 other comments.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The results were unequivocal: consumers were consistently being offered cars with defects that the dealers knew about but didn't disclose. In California, for example, a public-interest group sent around representatives who pretended to be shopping for a car. Any defects that were found were reported to the dealer. A second "buyer" went to the lot and asked to see the same car, often dealing with the same salesperson. In 75 out of 101 cases, the salesperson did not reveal the defect that had been reported. The same thing happened in a smaller New York test: in nine out of eleven cases, the salespeople did not tell the second shopper about the defects a previous customer had pointed out, often that same day.

After years of debate, the commission finally came up with a rule requiring dealers to disclose only defects they *already* knew about, a rule weaker than the one the industry's trade association had proposed in February 1979.

But 1982 is different from 1979. Political action committees have become more ambitious, and the car dealers' PAC is now the fourth largest in the country, and one of the most active. Over the last few years, the National Automobile Dealers Association has handed out more than $840,000 in campaign contributions to more than 300 Senators and Representatives. Their efforts paid off: almost 85 percent of the recipients voted against the used-car rule, killing it by a greater than two-to-one margin. Sixteen members agreed to co-sponsor the veto within ten days of receiving campaign contributions from the car dealers. In the House, debate was limited to just two hours—a sensible idea, given that the result was preordained.

What worked for the used-car dealers will probably work for the funeral directors, who are gearing up for an expensive campaign. The two-house legislative veto—the constitutionality of which is currently before the U.S. Supreme Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit—invites every industry faced with a Federal agency's regulation that it doesn't like to seek to annul it in Congress. It encourages the proliferation of special-interest PACs and so lavish an expenditure of campaign money that even conservatives are troubled. As Senator Robert Dole of Kansas commented, "When these political action committees give money, they expect something in return other than good government." And they usually get it. As Representative Tom Downey of New York put it during the used-car rule debate, the veto demonstrates the golden rule of politics—"He with the gold, rules."

The Refuseniks

The convictions of Enten Eller and Benjamin Sasway for refusal to register for the draft show that the Reagan Administration intends to meet noncompliance head-on, rather than ignore it. By stern enforcement of the registration law, the Reaganites apparently hope to demonstrate to the world that the United States is no longer incapacitated by the Vietnam syndrome—that it has recovered its military will. But there are signs that the strategy of selectively jailing outspoken opponents of registration may backfire.

The objective of prosecuting conscience-driven refuseniks like Eller and Sasway is to send a message to all the other nonregistrants, whose sheer number—estimated at anywhere from 500,000 to 1 million—makes prosecution on a case-by-case basis impossible. The irony is that the need for such scare tactics proves what the Administration would rather not admit, namely, that there is in this country a powerful, latent resistance to American military interventionism, even among those who are too young to remember much about Vietnam.

Nonregistration is, of course, an imprecise measure of dissent, since it is impossible to estimate how many young men have refused to register as a protest and how many are not complying because of ignorance of the law. But it is hard to believe that there are now very many young men who have not heard of the law, which has been in the news ever since President Carter first proposed it more than thirty months ago. Nor can noncompliance be attributed to red tape, since the procedure is a simple one, a matter of filling out a card at the local post office. Clearly, the high noncompliance rate signifies the existence of a sizable stratum of protest.

By spotlighting the protesters, however, the Administration may succeed only in stiffening their resolve and arousing public sympathy for their cause. In itself, registration has little military significance, despite the Defense Department's claim that it would save six weeks in the event of an actual mobilization. Its purpose is symbolic. It is a demonstration of the national will at a time when American power in the world is seen as declining by friends and enemies alike.

By the same token, defiance of the law has acquired a symbolism of its own. Since a military draft is not involved and the nation is not embroiled in a specific war, refusal to register becomes an abstract protest against future wars and against militarism in general.

Apparently, thousands of young men want to make just such a protest, and in doing so they reveal a level of political sophistication that was absent in the Vietnam War protest movement—at least in the war's early days. For these young men, registration has become an all-purpose symbol for a host of evils—the draft itself, U.S. intervention in Latin America and elsewhere, Reagan's bloated defense budget, the arms race and many others.

Thus, the imprisonment of Benjamin Sasway could serve to rekindle a flame that was dying out for lack of attention. If the moral stands that Sasway and Eller took at their trials should inspire some young men to do the same and others to question the assumptions behind registration, they will have vindication enough. But if their cause serves to galvanize antiwar sentiment in this country, making it a force to be reckoned with when the Administration contemplates future military adventures, then they will have accomplished a great deal more.

SAMUEL J. STOLOFF

Samuel J. Stoloff, a former Nation *intern, has not registered.*

CSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sharon's Head

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

danian territory. This incident entered Palestinian history as "Black September."

Sharon, who was on active duty as a general in the Israeli Army at the time, suggested that Israel help the P.L.O. take over Jordan, thus creating a Palestinian state on the east bank of the Jordan River. Nobody took him seriously, but the incident reveals the workings of his unconventional mind.

Sharon's view of the world is one-dimensional—entirely militaristic, devoid of any historical, social, political or economic considerations. It is based solely on the bare fact that Israel has developed one of the most effective, aggressive, sophisticated and highly motivated armies in the world.

This army is not only strong for a country of Israel's size and population. It is, by any criterion, one of the finest war machines in the world. What a waste, then, to use this asset only for a small retaliation here and there. Ridiculous! Like using the huge pool of Arab oil only to light a cigarette occasionally. Why not throw it into the political vacuum that is the Middle East, a no man's land where no real *power exists?*

Oil is money and money is power. The Arabs have oil and money, but their power is illusory for they are defenseless. Power can exist only when other nations respect the convention that it does exist.

Ayatollah Khomeini didn't respect the convention of U.S. power. He saw America as a paper tiger. Not only did he defy America's power and get away with it, he became one of the most dangerous and influential forces affecting the future of the Middle East—and perhaps that of all humanity. So, why not stake everything against the house, winner take all?

That is how Sharon thinks. Viewing the world in pure military-power terms, he weighs his ambitions in light of the following calculations.

China has power; it is not a paper tiger. But China is far away and wouldn't intervene directly.

The Soviet Union is not a paper tiger. Its military has great logistical capacity, mobility and timing. Very shrewd and dangerous rivals, those Soviets. But except in Afghanistan—not a flattering example—Russia hasn't seen real war since 1945. So maybe its power is a bluff, good only to scare those who frighten easily. Also, Moscow is very cautious and calculating. Short of nuclear war, it wouldn't risk using force in a real confrontation. The Israeli Army could defeat a Soviet invasion. It could not win a nuclear war, but who can? And so, a Soviet invasion is most unlikely.

Next, the United States. Not a paper tiger; rather, one with rubber legs. Can't jump, can't run, can't think, but still it's almost a tiger—though a very cowardly one. Needs encouragement maybe, some moral support to make it believe in itself.

As for NATO and Western Europe—paper kittens, ridiculous. Maybe good enough to put down students and maybe not. So much for Europe.

Now the Arabs. As long as their bluff can work, they are in business. They can threaten Europe and Japan with their oil weapon. Europe and Japan will ask Washington to threaten Israel and will then threaten Washington that unless Israel is threatened, something of grave consequence will happen, something like what?

But what if the Arabs no longer control their famous oil? What if Arab oil becomes Jewish oil? What if, after the fall of Amman and the flight of Hussein and the election of Yasir Arafat as president of the Palestinian Republic by the Jordanian Assembly, Israeli troops march on Kuwait?

Kuwait is of course within the range of the Israeli Air Force. The mission of a Phantom jet (which is of course a defensive weapon) is to defend Tel Aviv against an attack from Kuwait. The thing about range is that it works in both directions. There is also a road from the former Hashemite kingdom of Jordan to Kuwait. It's only a two-day drive, and there is nobody on this road to stop an advancing column of Israeli tanks.

Once Israel takes Kuwait, oil is no longer an Arab weapon. It's merely fuel.

And so, at last, the Palestinian problem shrinks to its true proportions: a minor problem, between two minor tribes, about a minor piece of land. No longer a front-page story, rather, on a par with a famine in a hungry country, or a plague in a sick country, or a civil war in a civil war country.

No more demonstrations in Copenhagen.

No more declarations in Brussels.

Tel Aviv becomes the capital of NATO, because Tel Aviv was America's only Western ally to show Power. And thus, the United States, that rubber-legged tiger, again stands on its own four feet, supported by a friendly fellow beast, Israel.

End of chaos. End of international terror and intimidation. Beginning of a new order.

Of course, this solution to one of the world's gravest problems takes into consideration only its military dimensions. It doesn't take into consideration the fact that there are 100 million Arabs who have aspirations, dreams, hopes, intelligence, pride, courage and ability.

It doesn't take into consideration the fact that those Arabs would consent to the existence of Israel, to peace with Israel, as Sadat did, if Israel recognized the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

It doesn't take into consideration the dynamics of Arab society, the growing conscience of the masses and of the middle class. It doesn't include in its vision a fair possibility of peaceful coexistence and cooperation among all nations of the Middle East and the Mediterranean. It excludes any possibility of peaceful understanding and the creation of lasting and durable relations between Israel and its neighbors. It is based only on force, which does not last forever.

It is based on maintaining an eternal feud between 4 million Israelis and 100 million Arabs. Also, it ignores the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dialectic of Israeli society: the more it explodes outward, the more it disintegrates internally.

And last but not least, it is based on illusion and a misunderstanding of Israel's real power and possibilities. This is because Israeli planes are U.S.-made and fly with U.S. fuel and drop U.S. bombs and shoot U.S. shells and are paid for with U.S. money, and because all 4 million Israelis eat, drink and breathe U.S. money, which is given to them now, but maybe not forever, and not without conditions. Israel cannot exist a single day without the massive generous help of the United States.

Therefore, if some day, after Amman, Kuwait is in the hands of the Israelis, it will only be because the United States wanted that to happen. In which case, Israel will live in a protected cage—a big cat surrounded by 100 million hungry mice.

What a destiny, this militaristic gospel according to Sharon!

Of course, it couldn't happen, and what I have written is not even a speculation. Just a joke. □

ARTICLES.

RADICAL REINDUSTRIALIZATION

Plan for People—Not Profits

BARRY BLUESTONE AND BENNETT HARRISON

Buried deep under the surface of the American economic crisis has been the phenomenon of capital hypermobility—management's urge to take advantage of every possibility for squeezing out an extra ounce of profit by shifting resources from more established (yet not always unprofitable) operations into new activities and locations. Plant closings, community abandonment and the dismantling of basic industries provide graphic and often tragic evidence that this accelerating race to maintain the profit rates of the 1960s in the face of the radically altered economic conditions of the 1980s is destroying social productivity, jobs, incomes and the material basis for stable political community.

Conservatives in Washington say that the remedy for the deindustrialization of America is pure supply-side reliance on the wonders of the "free market." Others have proposed corporatist models of top-down industrial planning like that practiced in Japan. But neither of these solutions can be expected to achieve a *democratic* reindustrialization of the American economy. Consequently it is necessary to ask: Is there another way?

It would be presumptuous, if not downright foolhardy, for two college professors to propose a detailed blueprint for what can only emerge out of a long process of struggle, led by a revitalized labor movement. Nevertheless, it seems useful to at least lay out some of the steps we see as relevant to a democratic restructuring of the American economy. The immediate task—the first step in what is going to be a long process of radical political change in this country—is easy to specify. The growing insecurity of workers, their families and the communities in which they live must be reversed. The supply-siders argue that insecurity is the motor that drives the capital accumulation process. It was, they say, *too much* government-guaranteed security that undermined savings, work effort and productivity in the first place.

This is nonsense. Productivity is a *social* relation. To promote it requires *more*, not less, social security. Only as the fear of poverty, disease and joblessness recedes can human energies be totally released for creative, truly productive effort. Thus, before Americans can embark on any major planned structural transformation of the economy, they must reject the claims of those who would deliberately promote insecurity as a matter of policy, find ways to reestablish the social safety net and extend the range of the regulatory system to make that net even more secure for more groups in the population.

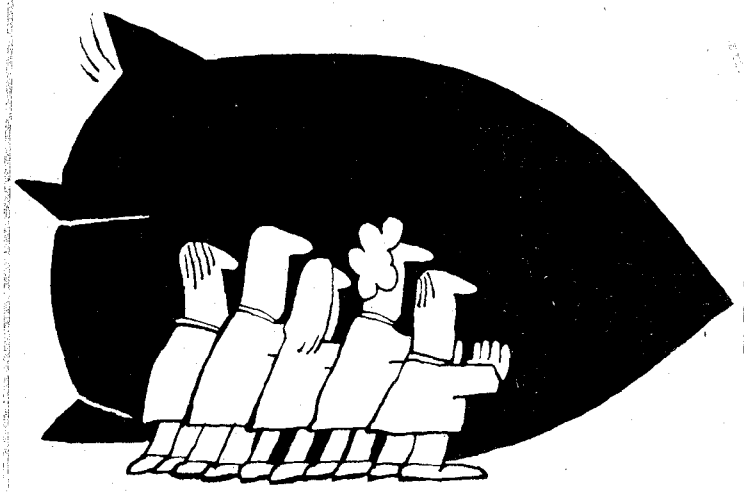
In thinking about how to do this, it must be recognized that some of the relevant issues are not new at all. Rather, they are old ones that need to be brought back onto the center stage of public debate and rescued from the premature burial given them by the new conservatives. One problem, certainly, is the distorted allocation of resources that is once again feeding a bloated, inefficient and wasteful military machine. Even the most dispassionate cost-benefit analysis of the Federal budget would conclude that $1.6 *trillion* for defense over a five-year period (the current Reagan program) amounts to incredible overkill, especially when the already small budgets for things like mass transit, school-lunch programs and alternative energy systems are being gutted to pay for it. What kind of government policy increases a $20 billion budget for military research and development by 20 percent, while adding only 2 percent to the $3.4 billion R & D budget for the National Institutes of Health, where researchers are trying to find cures for heart disease and cancer?

Another issue that must be addressed is truly progressive tax reform. Major changes are needed in the personal in-

Barry Bluestone is a professor of economics and the director of the Social Welfare Research Institute at Boston College. Bennett Harrison is an associate professor of urban studies and economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. *This article is excerpted from* The Deindustrialization of America, *to be published in November by Basic Books.* *Copyright © 1982 by Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRAVEL WITH The Nation FACT-FINDERS



Visit Germany & The Netherlands

Explore The

EUROPEAN DISARMAMENT DEBATE

NOVEMBER 10–21, 1982

Meet with Leading Representatives of the Peace Movement, the Military, Government & Political Parties

(The Tour coincides with German Peace Week, Nov. 7-17)

Package Price $1395*

TENTATIVE ITINERARY

Wednesday Nov. 10—Leave New York City (evening)

Thursday Nov. 11—West Berlin—*American/NATO decision to deploy Pershing 2 and cruise missiles on European soil*: Briefing by NATO staff (evening)

Friday Nov. 12—West Berlin—*Response of the Peace Movement to Rearmament*: Lecture, slide show, discussions and workshops (morning & afternoon)

Saturday Nov. 13—West Berlin—*City Politics and Community Organizing in Berlin*: Alternative bus tour of city with lecture and discussions (afternoon)

Sunday Nov. 14—East Berlin—*History of Fascism*: Visit to Sachsenhausen concentration camp (morning); *Politics of Peace in the German Democratic Republic*: Visit with government representatives (afternoon)

Monday Nov. 15—Dortmund—*East/West Trade, the Gas Pipeline Deal and U.S. Foreign Policy*: Visit turbine or pipe factory (afternoon); viewpoints of Industry, Labor and representatives from the foreign offices of West Germany and the Soviet Union (evening)

Tuesday Nov. 16—Dortmund—*Nuclear Power and Alternative Energy*: Visit nuclear power plant at Hamm (morning & afternoon); Green Party, ecologists and alternative economists (evening)

Wednesday Nov. 17—Cologne—*War & Reconstruction*: Slide show and lecture on WWII bombing raids (morning); walking tour of old section of the city (afternoon)

Thursday Nov. 18—Bonn—*Disarmament Politics, Parliamentary Parties and the 1984 Federal Elections*: Talks and discussions with Christian Democrats (morning), Social Democrats (afternoon)

Friday Nov. 19—Amsterdam—*Disarmament Politics and Parliamentary Parties in Holland*: Talks and discussions with Workers' Party, Christian Democrats, Pacifist Socialist Party, Communist Party-Netherlands (afternoon)

Saturday Nov. 20—Amsterdam—*The Peace Movement and Alternative Politics*: Representatives of various social movements (afternoon)

Sunday Nov. 21—Return to **New York City**

*(*per person based on double occupancy—includes all transportation, lodging and food, except dinner on five open evenings)*

The Nation FACT-FINDERS

72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011

I'm interested in *The Nation* FACT-FINDERS Tour to Germany and The Netherlands, November 10-21, 1982. (Limited spaces available—reservation deadline October 15, 1982.)

☐ RESERVE space for me.
Enclosed is my check for $_____. ($200 deposit required for each person—no penalty on cancellations made before September 20, 1982.)

☐ I'M INTERESTED, send more information.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

NFF8232

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

come tax to remove inequities, especially in the treatment of nonlabor income vis-à-vis earnings. Ordinary working people feel only cynicism and resentment toward the disastrously inequitable system that exists today—a system in which a 50-year-old bricklayer can actually pay more taxes than one of the five largest banks in the country.

Changes in corporate taxation are even more urgent. In particular, the postwar history of zero-interest, long-term loans and grants from the U.S. treasury to private corporations, via the Internal Revenue Code, must be ended. That is, the Internal Revenue Service should stop granting business tax incentives of any kind and for any purpose. It is clear that these "incentives" produce practically no economic growth that would not have been forthcoming in their absence. But they *do* force the public to bear an immense loss in revenues that have productive alternative uses.

Instead of continuing to plunge headlong into an ever more intense war between the states, in which one is played off against another by companies demanding a "good business climate," and as an alternative to the erosion of the Federal income tax revenue base through new concessions to industry, it is necessary to completely revamp our intergovernmental tax system. Without additional revenues, a strong and broad-based social safety net cannot be financed, especially at the local level.

This issue is generating much activity, although mostly outside of Congress. To cite but one example, the Multistate Tax Commission is helping states cooperate with one another in recovering lost corporate taxes through a formula that is based on an estimate of the share of each corporation's worldwide business conducted in a given state. In 1980, in a 6-to-1 vote, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that state taxation of multiregional corporations was indeed constitutional and equitable. In *Mobil Oil Corp. v. Commissioner of Taxes of Vermont*, the Court ruled that Vermont had the right to tax Mobil's net dividend income from all its domestic and foreign investments, including the returns on its Saudi Arabian subsidiaries, at a rate equal to the proportion of Mobil's worldwide sales that took place within Vermont.

Revenue for the maintenance and gradual expansion of the social safety net can also be generated by closing tax loopholes that allow various forms of investment income to escape taxation, in some cases entirely. More complete taxation of capital gains and the elimination of real estate, mineral rights and foreign income as tax shelters would be steps in this direction. If the tax code can be rewritten so that stockholders are fully taxed on the corporate earnings of the companies in which they hold stock, it may even be efficient to eliminate the present corporate income tax in favor of more steeply progressive personal taxation on investment income. In this connection, the much discussed proposal for a so-called "flat tax" represents a major step backward. There is no politically practical way that such a tax could generate the revenues necessary for supporting (let alone expanding) the social safety net without imposing extreme hardship on ordinary working people.

Dramatic (and politically difficult) as these changes would be, they are still in a sense only cosmetic. If we are to create truly far-reaching *structural* change, serious thought must be given to economic planning. And this itself raises a serious problem. If radical reindustrialization rejects private profit as the sole criterion for designing and managing a progressive industrial policy—and that is an absolutely essential first principle—then to what goals *do* we subscribe? First and foremost, there must be a rising standard of living for all working people. As a corollary concern, there must be an adequate supply of useful goods and services, whether or not they can always be made or provided at a profit. Third, the process of reindustrialization—the organization of the activities to be developed, renewed, rescued, or revived—should aim toward creating more hospitable, more interesting, less authoritarian and safer work environments. Fourth, to insure that the planning process adheres to these goals, it will be necessary to radically expand the nature of active popular participation in the day-to-day operation of the basic institutions of the economy and the society. This principle of "economic democracy" must be applied at every level, from the factory (or office) to the neighborhood, the municipality, the statehouse, regional organizations and, ultimately, to the national government itself.

With these objectives in mind—economic growth, production for use, a humane work environment and economic democracy—some general principles for a policy of reindustrialization with a "human face" can be identified. We see at least three distinct classes of industrial planning problems, each of which will require a different mix of the basic policies of public subsidy, public ownership and workers' control. What follows are only the most tentative guidelines for thinking about each category.

In any era there are always a number of new products (and related services) that private entrepreneurs and corporations very much *do* want to make and that offer at least the potential for a competitive profit. But profitability—especially in an increasingly international marketplace—depends on the producers' achieving technical or financial economies of scale (or both). In the 1980s, the most frequently mentioned examples are large-memory semiconductors, industrial robots, electricity co-generation equipment and all sorts of biological and biochemical research apparatus.

Given the desirability of mass producing these things, advocates of Federal support for high-tech industries argue that, unless the government provides financial grants or loans and relaxes antitrust restrictions to promote Japanese-like cartelization, American firms will not be able to compete with the government-subsidized firms of other countries. These advocates propose some form of "public-private partnership" between the government and the companies manufacturing products for which there are potentially profitable and growing markets. The partnership would "target" financial and regulatory policy to help those companies grow.

In fact, there is nothing at all new about this sort of rela-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tionship. As John Kenneth Galbraith and others have often noted, since World War II much of the production of military equipment like jet planes, and of high fixed-cost, civilian spinoff products like commercial aircraft, as well as the research and development of new industrial technologies like computers and numerically controlled machine tools, has taken place in private "for-profit" companies such as General Dynamics, Lockheed, I.B.M. and General Electric. But to call these firms "private" is stretching the term a great deal, since all are highly subsidized by the government, either through cost-plus procurement contracts or through low-cost—if not completely free—rental of land, buildings and machinery.

The currently fashionable concept of the public-private partnership could surely be made more substantive—and the public could recoup part of its investment in the (risky) growth potential of new high-tech companies—if the government were to insist on acquiring at least a minority equity position in any private firm that received more than a specified amount of assistance or qualified for a significant regulatory exemption.

Partial public ownership of subsidized private corporations is a minimum requirement. In and of itself, mixed ownership is unlikely to do more than redistribute some of the profits back to the U.S. treasury. This is desirable and fair, as far as it goes. But in terms of the planning objectives set out earlier, it does not go far enough. As the British economist Stuart Holland has made clear, the lesson of a quarter-century of European experience with even 100 percent government ownership of a corporation's stock is that "the change of ownership from private capital to the state will not in itself transform the criteria or general use of resources in society."

DRAWINGS BY ROBERT GROSSMAN

Considerable experimentation should precede the creation of what Holland calls "planning agreements" between the public and private "partners." These agreements should set policies on pricing, location (and relocation), sourcing, automation, affirmative action in hiring and promotions, health and safety, environmental protection and the creation of a workplace environment conducive to new forms of worker and community participation. Unless they make a legally binding commitment to such experimentation, the managements of the potentially expanding sunrise industries should be made to forfeit the government assistance they say they must have in order to compete in the global marketplace.

Reindustrialization must also deal with social needs that private enterprise cannot or will not meet. Mass transit and neighborhood health clinics differ from semiconductor and jet engine plants because, by and large, private business cannot make a competitive profit from them while adequately meeting the public need. Either construction entails assuming high front-end costs well in advance of any reliable knowledge of whether there will be sufficient demand, or else profitability requires pricing the good or service beyond many users' ability to pay.

Any inventory of unmet needs in contemporary American society will include a host of such public goods. One such inventory was drawn up during the 1976 Presidential campaign. At that time, the Institute for Policy Studies (I.P.S.) in Washington, D.C., assembled a series of papers aimed at identifying priorities for a full-employment program based on a radical overhauling of the Federal budget. In that study, four areas were pinpointed as especially in need of massive new investment: housing, energy, health care and both freight and passenger rail transportation.

The involvement of private industry in the production of building materials, solar collectors, drugs, medical equipment and motors for rail vehicles is likely in any such program. But the design, management, financing, monitoring and actual delivery of the service will have to be lodged in the public sector to assure adequate supplies in the right places and equitable distribution. However, "in the public sector" does not have to mean solely in or through giant, Washington-based government bureaucracies. A key element of the I.P.S. full-employment budget (a plan, by the way, that is as fresh and relevant today as when it was written) is its insistence on lively experimentation with different organizational forms for both the production of the hardware and the delivery of the housing, energy, health and transportation services.

For example, public enterprises might be locally, even municipally, owned. Producers' cooperatives would be encouraged, along with neighborhood-based community development corporations. As a way of eroding the often authoritarian doctor-patient relationship that permeates American medicine, health clinics could be owned and—even more important—*controlled* by the residents who utilize them. This is a concept that California Congressman Ronald Dellums has championed for many years.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Especially in the production of capital equipment, where private firms are unable or unwilling to provide a reliable flow of high-quality products at affordable prices, selective nationalization would be appropriate. For example, in 1976 former Illinois Senator Adlai Stevenson 3d proposed the creation of a government oil corporation, whose chances to compete successfully against huge multinationals like Exxon, Mobil and Shell would be enhanced by granting it a monopoly over U.S.-owned offshore oil. Formation of such a corporation would provide an alternative to the current policy of leasing that oil to the private companies. Such a public oil corporation could (Stevenson hoped) be held accountable by Congress for reporting its true operating costs, thereby keeping the private companies honest about their actual costs of drilling, refining and shipping.

Reindustrialization policy also must deal with those industries, products, activities and companies that *used* to be competitively profitable but that the private sector is now either rationalizing—lopping off the least profitable facilities or laying off the most expensive workers—or abandoning because they are no longer profitable *enough*. These are the so-called sunset industries.

Before forming a judgment on the kinds of policies most appropriate for dealing with these industries, a number of questions must be answered: How did they become absolutely or relatively unprofitable? Has the product become obsolete—the proverbial "buggy whip"? Have foreign competitors underpriced U.S. firms and driven them out of the market? Or did myopic U.S. corporate planning run the industry into the ground, and are those myopic planners now crying, "Abandon ship"?

Experience (and the simple logic of corporate self-interest) suggests that the business community cannot be trusted to answer these questions truthfully—if indeed its representatives are willing to say anything to its workers or to the public at all. Therefore, what is needed is systematic monitoring of corporate investment and disinvestment decisions by government agencies, unions and community organizations. And what might such research indicate?

It will often be the case that the product being abandoned truly is unneeded or technologically obsolete, based on criteria worked out by community (and union) researchers, together with advisory councils of rank-and-file workers and consumers. If so, it makes good sense to direct investment away from further production. However, that is hardly the end of the story. Indeed, this is precisely where democratic social planning of investment departs from private planning, for the latter by and large *does* end with management's decision to abandon ship.

First, democratic planning is necessary so that the cost of economic dislocation is not suddenly and exclusively borne by the work force in that plant, company or industry, or by the community where the plant is located. Here, the anti-plant-closing movement that has sprung up throughout the country can contribute with its political demand for legislation requiring profitable corporations to give advance notification of closings of particular plants or stores, and to provide severance pay and community redevelopment assistance to those left behind in the wake of a shutdown.

Second, the democratic decision to abandon a particular product does not necessarily mean abandoning the plant or equipment in place. It may be possible to convert old facilities to new uses. For many years, the peace movement has advocated the conversion of defense plants to the production of useful civilian goods. The idea of recycling older plants and machinery makes sense. Obviously, not all of them are sufficiently flexible to allow such conversion. But whether and to what extent conversion *is* a possibility can best be determined by allowing the people who know the plant best—the workers and the industrial engineers designated by them—to undertake systematic conversion studies.

In many cases, a supposed sunset industry is not a sunset industry at all. Rather, the private corporation abandoning a particular site is merely choosing to produce essentially the same product at another location. In Staughton Lynd's terms, management is opting for a "greenfield" rather than a "brownfield" investment strategy.

From the perspective of democratic industrial policy, the question is: Why? Are there valid technical or resource-availability reasons that make continued production at the old site unfeasible? Or is management simply seeking to shed its older, more experienced, highly paid and often unionized work force? This possibility must at least be considered in light of the fact that virtually all academic researchers—and even spokespersons for the business community—agree that when companies *do* relocate plants, "nine times out of ten" it is to reduce labor costs or to attain greater "workplace discipline."

As an alternative to using public policy to force a company to stay in a viable business at its old site, it might be more efficient (as well as politically more attractive) to help the workers take over and run the business themselves. This means requiring companies to offer the old plant for sale and providing financial and technical assistance to workers, their unions and perhaps the municipal government. Federal government contracts might be helpful in providing a transitional market for the (now) worker- or community-owned venture.

During the 1970s, groups of workers and local managers in a number of communities across the country decided to buy out and rehabilitate both "failing" businesses and companies that had been acquired by conglomerates, milked of their profits and then mismanaged into the ground or abandoned for greener fields. Saratoga Knitting Mills, Vermont Asbestos Group, Jamestown Metal Products and South Bend Lathe are only a few companies where this has occurred.

While a number of serious objections can be raised, worker buy-outs are surely one reasonable response to conglomerate divestiture. But despite all the heroic talk about "self-help" and "local effort," the success of all but the smallest of these ventures depends on the availability of public financial, marketing and management assistance. Instead of having to jury-rig such assistance on a case-by-case

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

basis, which often results in time lags that work against the buy-out, what is clearly needed is to make it part of any industrial policy toward sunset industries.

There are numerous pitfalls associated with worker buy-outs. For one—as the workers who had purchased the GAF Corporation's asbestos-mining operation in Vermont learned at their great expense—when individuals are permitted to own unequal amounts of stock, market forces can make it virtually impossible for those with large holdings to resist selling out to entrepreneurs who show up with large cash offers after workers have turned a declining operation around. For another, established corporate interests may try to undermine any worker-owned ventures that *are* successful.

In all too many recent buy-outs, managers have retained (or been granted) far too much power—freezing out the shop floor worker-owners, taking high salaries for themselves, devising ways to intimidate or eliminate opposition from the board of directors and even (in the case of the president of South Bend Lathe) chairing business committees that advocate right-to-work legislation and support union decertification drives!

Finally, many workers are discovering that the terms to which they agreed in financing the buy-out—especially the defunding of their pension plans (or the freezing of further company contributions), the elimination of cost-of-living allowances and the wage and vacation give-backs—have greatly increased their personal insecurity. This is an especially serious concern for older workers.

For all of these reasons, unions—and particularly their national executive leadership—have been circumspect, if not downright hostile, toward worker buy-outs of any kind. Their greatest concern has been the dismantling of often hard-won pension provisions as the basic source of capital for financing the buy-out. Some union officials have also warned that, since very few of these companies float their stock on the market, its value, which would ultimately determine the retirement benefits of a fully-vested employee, is completely arbitrary and subject to manipulation by managers. And many union officials fear that the traditional adversarial relationship between labor and management is thrown into limbo when workers own the plant. How, they ask, can trade unionists collectively bargain with themselves?

There is, of course, a potentially self-serving aspect to the union officials' reservations. It has been suggested that the officials fear that with increased workplace democracy, there will be an increase in the number of rank-and-file challenges to the authority of union executive councils. In other words, decentralized control threatens union bureaucrats as much as it does antiunion ideologues, though for very different reasons.

It is impossible to give definitive answers to all of the legitimate questions that even the most sympathetic critics have raised about the contradictory nature of worker buy-outs in a time of general economic crisis. As with other essentially populist programs to decentralize the production and distribution of goods and services—such as the low-income urban and rural community development corporations that play a small but important role in the economic lives of many communities across the country—the possibilities are exciting, but the room for everything from honest failure to baldfaced rip-off is very great.

We have tried to outline a set of basic principles or guidelines for thinking about a program of democratic socialist reindustrialization. Its key elements are: a set of planning objectives that would be an alternative to the narrow pursuit of private profit; recognition of the need for explicit strategies to deal with the development or restructuring of sunrise industries, sunset industries and public goods; a new and more democratic and participatory approach to the management of productive enterprises; and a belief in the principle that any private industry seeking assistance from the public must stand ready to negotiate a *quid pro quo* that would lead to sharing the benefits, along with the costs, from the revitalization of that industry. In the context of a renewed commitment to using national policy to enhance the social and personal security of working people and their families, such a program offers a chance for the re-creation of the conditions necessary for productive economic growth on terms consistent with the needs and aspirations of the great majority of ordinary people.

This discussion has obviously left a lot of big questions unanswered. What about inflation? How will such a radical program be financed? What is to prevent private industry from going on a truly massive strike—withholding its capital—in an attempt to blackmail popular forces into backing down? How are these grandiose and still somewhat vague ideas to be put into effect? And where do we start?

To all but the last question, there are *no* answers at this point—and that is as it should be. Plans for economic revitalization are a dime a dozen. Any workable plan, especially one that assumes a great deal of local initiative, must emerge out of the ideas and experience of working people themselves. As labor reporter Bob Howard writes: "Labor's alternative won't suddenly appear ready-made, the product of union research departments, meetings of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. executive council, or, least of all, labor's new political consultants in Washington. It will be the legacy of a multitude of confrontations between unionists across the country and the concrete problems of their working life."

What is certain is that the public at large needs to become actively engaged in the great reindustrialization debate. At this point, all opinions are needed. New ideas should be encouraged, and an opportunity for them to be heard should be assured. Unions, community organizations, schools, the media, legislative hearings, international conferences—all are valid settings for the kind of continual public forum we envision.

If we are to turn around the deindustrialization of America and the continued destabilization of all our community institutions in the wake of the increasingly unrestricted mobility of private capital, *organizing* is what we have to do. The steps after that will reveal themselves in good time. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COUP ATTEMPT IN KENYA

Cracks in the Facade

DANE KENNEDY

In the predawn hours of Sunday, August 1, rebel Kenyan Air Force personnel attempted to topple the government of President Daniel arap Moi; in so doing, they shattered the popular image of Kenya as a uniquely stable African nation, free of the problems that seem to be endemic to much of the rest of the continent. Although the coup failed, it dramatically exposed the tensions and conflicts that rend Kenyan society. It also raised serious questions about the long-term survival of Moi's pro-Western, procapitalist government. The United States counts on Kenya as a military client state strategically located near the oil fields of the Middle East and the major shipping lanes of the Indian Ocean.

Despite the appearance of stability carefully cultivated for foreign investors and tourists, Kenya is a profoundly troubled country. At the root of its difficulties are an economy which is floundering because of state mismanagement and a soaring birth rate of 4 percent a year—one of the highest in the world. In the countryside, the scramble for a plot of land, which is necessary for economic security, has grown fierce in recent years. Many of the losers in that struggle have migrated to the cities, where they dwell in miserable shantytowns like Nairobi's notorious Mathare Valley. Bribery and corruption among officials, from police officers to cabinet ministers, is widespread. The disparities of wealth in Kenya are everywhere to be seen. The beggars, shoeshine boys and shop assistants of Nairobi daily watch shiny new Mercedes-Benz taxis, owned and operated by a government corporation, cruising the streets with their well-to-do occupants.

Confronted by growing political discontent, Moi has ruthlessly suppressed dissent. When Ajuma Oginga Odinga, a respected and independent political figure who broke with President Jomo Kenyatta and his procapitalist policies in the mid-1960s, suggested earlier this year that the time was ripe for the creation of an opposition socialist party, the government quickly pushed a constitutional amendment through Parliament that legalized the ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU) Party's monopoly on political power. Odinga's passport was seized, but his political stature probably saved him from further retaliation.

Many of Moi's other critics were not so fortunate. In late July, a Nairobi journalist was sentenced to four and a half years in prison for possessing a "seditious" publication, the contents of which were not revealed at his trial. (Sedition is defined in Kenyan law as the intention "to bring into hatred or contempt or to incite dissatisfaction against the person of the President.") At least seven people have been detained without trial over the past few months, including four lecturers at Nairobi University and a lawyer who dared to defend detainees. Several other individuals, among them the internationally known novelist Ngugi wa Thiong'o, fled the country because they suspected the same would happen to them. George Githii, editor of the *East African Standard*, a newspaper which consistently supports the government, published an editorial on July 20 that condemned the practice of detention without trial, declaring that "this country has been increasingly gripped with fear." Githii was immediately fired by the board of directors of the paper, which is owned by the multinational conglomerate Lonrho, and many Cabinet ministers and members of the National Assembly urged that he be detained.

Although discontent runs high among intellectuals, the coup appears to have been initiated by members of the air force. Many questions about the conspirators' objectives remain to be answered. Did they really imagine they could succeed in the face of opposition from the 12,000-man army and the 1,800-man paramilitary General Service Unit, which have far greater resources in men and matériel? Or did they expect that the other branches of the armed forces would not oppose them? If so, was this expectation based on any agreement? The answers to these questions remain obscure, but one thing seems clear: the leaders of the coup attempt did not anticipate the ferocious resistance they encountered. After capturing key installations in Nairobi and announcing the success of the coup on the radio, they took no steps to consolidate their position. Many rebels wandered

Dane Kennedy, an assistant professor of history at the University of Nebraska, was in Kenya at the time of the recent coup attempt.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

about the city on foot or in cars, shooting into the air to celebrate their assumed victory. According to a witness, the rebels holding the radio station appeared shocked when they found themselves under attack by the army. Were they naïve, or were they double-crossed?

It is clear that the coup attempt reflected widespread discontent. In their broadcast, the rebels condemned the constitutional amendment that had created a one-party state and the use of detention to suppress dissent. They described Moi as corrupt and dictatorial and charged that the economy was in chaos and that inflation was hurting the poor. In slum neighborhoods of Nairobi, the announcement of the coup was greeted with delight. Residents spilled into the streets to applaud the rebels.

The apparent overthrow of the government provided an opportunity to "redistribute the wealth." There was massive looting, encouraged by and, in some areas, joined by the rebels. Shoes, clothing, radios and other electronic equipment were the most popular items. (For several days after the pillaging, sidewalks outside gutted shoe stores were littered with discarded old shoes, and it was said that the military, searching throughout Mathare Valley and the surrounding slums for rebels and looters, found new television sets, refrigerators and other appliances in the shacks, which have no electricity.) At the university, hundreds of students streamed out of their dormitories chanting, "Power! Power!" and cheering for the rebels. Many students expropriated city buses and drove them through the streets, pounding the sides and shouting slogans.

But by afternoon, government troops had put down the rebellion. Troops from the army and the General Service Unit retook the radio station and other facilities held by the rebels, after bloody fighting. According to official estimates, about 165 students and looters were killed in the streets. Embakasi Air Force Base in Nairobi was surrounded, and those rebels who were not able to escape were captured or shot. The air force base at Nanyuki, about 100 miles north of Nairobi, was also retaken after a short siege. Yet many air force personnel managed to flee into the bush or were hidden in the homes of sympathizers. Scattered gun battles between government troops and the remnants of the rebel forces continued for a week.

By any calculation, in the coup's aftermath, Kenya will see increased repression. The failed coup provides President Moi with an opportunity to move forcefully against his opponents, whether they were implicated in the conspiracy or not. At least one outspoken critic in the Assembly has already been arrested. Many faculty members at the university, which has been closed indefinitely, fear they will meet the same fate. The office of a major trade union was looted during the disruption, and its confidential files were stolen. More crackdowns will doubtless follow in the coming months. Meanwhile, serious abuses of power, committed by the armed forces in quashing the revolt, have come to light. During house-to-house searches for rebels and looted goods, soldiers reportedly robbed, raped and brutalized residents at gunpoint. It is likely that much of the looted property that has been recovered will find its way into the hands of police and army personnel.

For the short term, the coercive power of Moi's government will probably increase. Over the long term, the underlying social and economic problems that plague Kenya will only grow worse. The losses from looting are estimated to exceed $50 million, and there is little hope of recovery or compensation by insurance. The victimized merchants are predominantly South Asians, against whom there is widespread resentment among the African population. Many Asian merchants, fearful that Kenya may go the way of Uganda, are making plans to sell out and leave the country. The commonly held belief that coups and chaos "can't happen here" has been shattered, and thus Kenya's attractiveness to foreign investors has been substantially reduced. The present government can ill afford such a decline in commercial confidence. As Kenya's economic problems multiply and the government responds to popular discontent with further repression, the poor will resort to random crime as their only outlet for protest, or sink into impotent rage. Pressures will probably build within the KANU Party leadership to replace Moi, setting off a fierce internecine struggle. In the end, the army, having flexed its muscles by saving the government from the air force, may decide to save Moi and KANU from themselves by initiating a coup of its own. □

THE LEBANON WAR

national conferences

on

RESPONSIBILITIES FOR AMERICAN RELIGIOUS AND PEACE COMMUNITIES

October 13 and 14 in Los Angeles, CA
LA Lutheran High School
7500 North Glen Oaks
Burbank

October 16 in Seattle, WA
The Sherwood Inn
400 NE 45th Street

Speakers include:

Fr. Elias Chacour
Melkite Catholic priest from the Galilee

Dr. Chris Giannou
Canadian surgeon; eyewitness to invasion at Sidon

Rabbi Stephen Schwarzchild
Philosopher; professor, Washington University (St. Louis)

Dr. Marvin Pope
Theologian; professor, Yale University

Dr. Bruce Rigdon
Theologian; professor, McCormick Seminary (Chicago)

Dr. Mahmoud Ayoub
Professor, University of Toronto

and many others

For information and registration materials, call or write:
The Lebanon Conference Committee
20 East Jackson, Suite 1111
Chicago, Illinois 60604 312/987-1984

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REAGAN AND THE WORLD BANK

Cutting Off Your Own Best Friend

CHERYL PAYER

With the World Bank holding its annual meeting this week in Toronto, it is appropriate to assess the impact of its new president, A.W. Clausen, who has now occupied that office for fourteen months. Clausen, formerly head of the nation's largest commercial bank, Bank of America, was appointed to lead the world's largest development lending institution by President Jimmy Carter. He assumed office under Ronald Reagan, who has been much more critical of multilateral economic lending than any U.S. President since the founding of the bank in 1945.

The Reaganites' initial assault on the World Bank was ideological, and it was easily refuted. Conservative charges that the bank is "socialistic" and makes loans to government-owned businesses for projects that would be better handled by private enterprise were officially denied in a report issued by the U.S. Treasury Department last winter. The report concludes that multilateral development banks, of which the World Bank is by far the most important, are effective tools for furthering U.S. foreign policy; they promote favorable conditions for private foreign investment in the borrowing countries, and they reward U.S. allies and punish governments that follow independent policies. The report is an official admission of U.S. political pressure on the bank's loan decisions, which, according to its charter, must be based on purely economic criteria. For example, whenever the Allende government in Chile requested loans, the United States used its clout as the bank's largest contributor to block any action.

Close observers of the bank's actions have long known that its chief function is to smooth the way for private foreign investment. But this activity (which is engraved in the bank's charter) was obscured during the years Robert McNamara was president by a smokescreen of rhetoric about what the bank was doing to help the poor. Now that the most dangerous criticism of the bank's policies is coming from the right rather than from the left, its public relations effort has shifted to bragging about what the bank has been doing all along. This was strikingly illustrated in an article by Keith Marsden, a World Bank employee, published in *The New York Times* on August 23, 1981, which boasted that the bank had pushed "supply-side policies" in its borrowing countries throughout the McNamara years. Such policies included, according to the article, granting generous tax holidays and concessions to new investors, lowering personal income taxes and setting "realistic" exchange rates.

Thus, the bank's policies have been vindicated from the standpoint of Reagan Administration values, but that hasn't stopped the budgetary ax from falling. Curtailment of nonmilitary spending is one of Reagan's cardinal aims, and multilateral banks must take their whacks along with domestic programs. The International Development Association (I.D.A.), the bank's concessional (interest-free) lending window, was the first agency to suffer, since it is dependent for its funding on frequent and nonreturnable contributions from the bank's wealthy member countries. U.S. contributions are lagging and other nations are unwilling to ante up if the United States does not, but the I.D.A. has been making commitments to extend credits even without adequate funds on hand. France and Canada have talked about creating a new fund to handle a portion of their contributions. The fund would bar U.S. companies from bidding on projects financed by its loans. To complicate matters further, the entry of China to the World Bank in 1980 has dramatically increased the demand on the shrinking pool of concessional funds.

The "hard-loan" window of the bank, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (I.B.R.D.), is also facing financial difficulties. The I.B.R.D. does not obtain its funds from governmental appropriations, as does the I.D.A.; rather, it floats bonds in the financial markets of the richest nations. Recently, two of the prime markets for World Bank bonds, Switzerland and West Germany, became glutted with the bank's paper and told it to find other sources of funds. The I.B.R.D. was thus forced to turn to the U.S. market, where interest rates are higher. Under the bank's usual procedures, these rates, with a 0.5 percent surcharge, are passed on to its Third World clients.

The I.B.R.D.'s fixed-interest loans became an anomaly in a time when virtually all commercial banks will extend only "floating-rate" loans to Third World borrowers. The interest rates of such loans change every six months to reflect the cost of funds to the banks. In July, the executive directors of the World Bank agreed to shift from fixed- to floating-rate loans for I.B.R.D. borrowers for the first time in the bank's history. The bank said this will enable it to avoid assuming long-term obligations at high, fixed-interest rates and to pass on any savings derived from falling interest rates to its borrowers. It is also true, however, that the bank will be protecting its own balance sheet if, as many expect, rates go up again. Stiffer terms for both I.B.R.D. and I.D.A. loans were also put into effect recently by the imposition of "front-end" and commitment fees on borrowers, and by the assessment of a higher "service charge" on interest-free I.D.A. credits.

At a time when the balance of payments of many of the bank's borrowers has never been worse, the shrinking pool of loanable funds presents a crisis for the institution. Before assuming the World Bank presidency, Clausen argued strongly for an expansion of both World Bank and commercial bank lending in an interview published in *Euromoney*:

Cheryl Payer is the author of The World Bank: A Critical Analysis, *soon to be released by Monthly Review Press.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> I am a banker . . . and in my professional judgment we have no choice but to support this approach. All the facts are there to prove that it is in America's self-interest to support the international agencies. . . . And if we don't produce this expanded level of support—comes the revolution. It's as simple as that. We have to do it or else we will destroy ourselves.

The Reagan team wasn't listening, however, and now support is shrinking. This contraction will probably be more harmful to the institutions with which Clausen has been associated—the commercial banks and the international agencies—than to the poverty-stricken Third World masses the international lending agencies claim to be benefiting.

The commercial banks will be in deep trouble if the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank cut back, because they have counted on them to guarantee the safety of their loans. And the Reagan Administration's goals are contradictory: it wants simultaneously to increase U.S. influence within the multilateral institutions, to decrease the level of U.S. financial contribution in real terms and to expand private investment abroad. It will learn that private investment will not venture where it is not subsidized and guaranteed by the U.S. government (that is, after all, why the World Bank was founded). And it will also find that buying acquiescent policies in the Third World is expensive. To paraphrase Ogden Nash, perhaps money can't always buy allies, but did you ever try buying them *without* money? □

CONFESSIONS OF A P.R. MAN

Censorship at The New E.P.A.

JIM SIBBISON

A public relations man occupies an ideal vantage point for gauging the honesty of his client. He knows what information his client is willing to divulge, what information he wants to withhold and sometimes even the lies he wants told.

As a former practitioner of the public relations trade—my title was public information officer—with the Environmental Protection Agency, I know whereof I speak. From 1970, when the agency was established, until about a year after Ronald Reagan's election, I was involved in the disclosures and, yes, the deceptions of the E.P.A. press office. The latter occurred during the Nixon, Ford and Carter Administrations, but their incidence increased dramatically when the Reagan team took over. The new Administration introduced heavy censorship of E.P.A. news releases, and soon the deceptions outnumbered the disclosures.

Jim Sibbison, now a freelance writer living in Amherst, Massachusetts, frequently reports on environmental health matters.

My first encounter with this censorship occurred when I reported in a news release that the pesticide dibromochloropropane (DBCP) was suspected of causing cancer and that there had been cases of sterility among workers who had handled it. Someone in the administrator's office (which reviews all press releases before they are disseminated) crossed out "sterility" and substituted "adverse health effects." The reference to cancer was deleted.

Soon after that, all references to cancer and hazards to pregnant women were purged from a draft of a news release about protecting workers from radiation. On another occasion, I proposed making public an E.P.A. finding that people using creosote and other cancer-causing wood preservatives should wear protective clothing. I was told not to bother. After a while, I simply stopped mentioning cancer, birth defects and damage to genes. As a colleague of mine said, "The administrator's office will take the words out anyway." But without references to those things, my news releases had little point.

Perhaps I was naïve in expecting that the E.P.A.'s new top management would do otherwise. For the first time in the agency's history, lawyers, lobbyists, executives and consultants who had been employed by corporations the E.P.A. regulates were put in charge. Some of them had specialized in fighting the E.P.A. Certainly the new administrator, Anne McGill Gorsuch, had a reputation for being hostile to environmentalists. A former attorney for the Mountain Bell Telephone Company and a member of the Colorado legislature, she had been involved in a court suit against the E.P.A. Her top executive for air pollution controls, Kathleen Bennett, had been a lobbyist against environmental regulations for the Crown Zellerbach Corporation, a paper manufacturer. Gorsuch's chief of staff, John Daniel, had lobbied against such regulations for the Manville Corporation, an asbestos producer. Then there are Robert Perry, head of the enforcement division, who is an Exxon alumnus; Thornton Field, hired as a special assistant for hazardous waste to Gorsuch and now in enforcement, who previously toiled for the Adolph Coors Company, the beer brewer; and John Todhunter, an assistant administrator for pesticides and toxic substances, who served as a consultant for the American Council on Science and Health, a corporation-supported research organization. And on and on.

Gorsuch and her colleagues have done a creditable job of slowing down and in some cases even reversing the environmental cleanup effort begun in the 1970s. Since Reagan's election, they have:

§ Reduced by about 70 percent, in Reagan's first year, the number of cases against polluters referred to the Justice Department have filed only two suits against chemical waste Fund, since Gorsuch took over, the E.P.A. and the Justice Department have filed only two suits against chemical waste dumpers.

§ Refused to regulate formaldehyde, a known carcinogen. Ignoring its own scientific advisory panel, it bowed to the formaldehyde industry's position that regulation was unnecessary.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

§ Refused to restrict the use of pesticides to protect consumers from residues in food that can cause cancer and other health problems. A recommendation by the Carter E.P.A. for a ban on the cancer-causing fumigant ethylene dibromide, which leaves residues in fruit and wheat, was ignored.

§ Lifted an E.P.A. ban on building Westway, the controversial New York City highway project, in fulfillment of a Reagan campaign promise.

§ Halted proceedings, begun under President Carter, aimed at a total ban on 2,4,5-T, a herbicide containing Dioxin, a contaminant found in Agent Orange. An E.P.A. study of 2,4,5-T spraying in western Oregon found a high rate of miscarriages among women who had been exposed to it.

§ Refused to act to alleviate acid rain. In fact, the E.P.A. has actually made the problem worse by allowing increases in sulfur dioxide levels in the air [see Robert Sherrill, "Reagan Inc. Dumps on Canada," *The Nation*, September 4].

Just how an agency can be so quickly turned against its own legislative mandate merits examination.

There is nothing new, of course, about business influencing the E.P.A. Corporations have put pressure on the agency since it opened, and their lobbying has frequently been highly effective. While the air in our cities and towns is more breathable than it used to be, the Clean Air Act first called for healthy air by 1975. Even if Gorsuch fails in her efforts to weaken the act through legislative proposals now before Congress, millions of Americans will be breathing dirty air for years to come. The nation's waterways were supposed to have been pure enough to swim and fish in by 1983. Although they are cleaner now than they were ten or fifteen years ago by a large margin—Ohio's Cuyahoga River no longer catches fire, and Lake Erie isn't "dying"—there is a lot of pollution left. And much remains to be done to control hazardous pesticides. DDT and about a dozen others have been banned, but, thanks mainly to industry lobbying, many pesticides suspected of causing cancer are still in use.

Censorship at the E.P.A. isn't new, either. In the early 1970s, I proposed making public an E.P.A. warning about the risk of a recurrence of the plutonium fire that had broken out at the nuclear weapons plant in Rocky Flats, Colorado. Robert Fri, then deputy administrator under William Ruckelshaus, blocked the release of the information and issued an order forbidding news releases on E.P.A. findings about the environmental impact of any facility. That meant a ban on freely offered information about the hazards of nuclear power plants, weapons (the MX missile, for example), offshore oil rigs and highways. I tried to have the ban lifted after Fri left, without success. Still, compared with the current Administration, the agency was as accessible to the public and as eager to volunteer information as is a public library.

Previous E.P.A. administrators—Ruckelshaus, Russell Train and Douglas Costle—held as their top priority the protection of Americans from environmental cancer and other diseases. Gorsuch frequently makes speeches in which health is never mentioned. Her top priority is cutting the cost of pollution controls. "Time is money," she likes to say. Environmentalists had no voice in her s President Reagan and his aides consulted only indu byists and executives, and she had two powerful fi court—Secretary of the Interior James Watt and Coors, a right-wing millionaire and longtime supp the President.

She has been loyal to their trust. In the past, E.P cials at least tried to fend off corporation lobbyists a friends in the White House; now these officials are lit than lobbyists working inside the government. In rev corporation's case against regulation, they invariabl find any danger to health or to the environment. If pany thinks its product is safe or the pollution it gen harmless, that's usually good enough. The only c seems to be how to say "Yes" scientifically.

Gorsuch's favoritism to special interests was obvio before she took office. While she was awaiting confir by the Senate, I discovered in a file on pesticides a co letter she had written to groups representing sheep an ranchers, in which she urged them to revive their app the cancellation of a ban on the use of Compound 1 substance that ranchers once used to kill coyotes. President Nixon, the E.P.A. had banned the sub because it endangered other wildlife.

Here was a complex issue that past administrators v at the least, have insisted be thoroughly reviewed. G pushed for a probusiness solution before she even r into her office. President Reagan may rest conten wanted bureaucratic procedures simplified. The vironmental Protection Agency has responded w rationale for decision-making that is simplicity Money Talks.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'YOU CAN'T TRUST THE RUSSIANS'

The Most Dangerous Cliché

SIDNEY LENS

The nuclear arms negotiations are in trouble. The Geneva talks on intermediate-range missiles have been recessed—presumably because they were getting nowhere. The protracted discussions on a nuclear test ban, including a ban on the testing of warheads with an explosive force of less than 150 kilotons, skidded to a halt recently when President Reagan charged that "verification measures" were inadequate. And if there is any progress in the strategic arms reduction talks (START), it is not visible to the naked eye.

The reason for this slowdown in the disarmament talks is obvious: Reagan never wanted them to succeed. Rather, since he took office he has been committed to the greatest arms buildup in history—he has asked for $180 billion over the next five years for the most frightening weapons human ingenuity has yet devised. His plan is to "Finlandize" the Soviet Union by surrounding it with nuclear arms—Pershing 2 missiles capable of reaching Soviet soil in four to six minutes; thousands of low-flying cruise missiles that can avoid radar detection; eight Trident submarines; a hundred MX missiles with ten warheads each; B-1 and Stealth bombers, in addition to the present B-52s—so terrifying that Moscow may decide it's wise to fit its policies within the framework of a Pax Americana, much as Finland now fits its policies within the Soviet framework.

To camouflage its true intentions, the Reagan Administration is peddling the old saw used by every President since Harry Truman as an excuse for avoiding disarmament: "You can't trust the Russians." We need foolproof verification—because "you can't trust the Russians." And we must regain nuclear superiority—because "you can't trust the Russians." On the strength of those five muddle-headed words, the United States has spent nearly $3 trillion on arms since World War II. If inflation is taken into account, it has spent two or three times that amount. Indeed, those five words have virtually become an article of faith. Now, most Americans, even many of those who support a nuclear freeze, believe that "you can't trust the Russians."

Is it true? Of course it is. You can't trust any government, including the government of the United States. All governments lie or cheat when they consider it necessary. All governments act in their own presumed interest, regardless of abstract concepts of morality, signed agreements or international law. In fact, the founders of this country fought a revolution to establish the principle that governments are *not* to be trusted, that a democratic government must operate with the *consent* of the governed.

The reason usually given for not trusting the Russians is that they have reneged on so many promises in the past. That's true. The Russians did not keep their word to hold democratic elections in Poland after World War II. And they did violate the United Nations Charter and various other pledges to recognize the right to self-determination of all nations—as witnessed by their military incursions into Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan.

On the other hand, no less a hawk than Winston Churchill praised the Kremlin for living up to the agreement at Yalta consigning Greece to the British sphere of influence. Stalin, said Churchill, scrupulously avoided giving aid to Communist revolutionaries seeking to overthrow the rightist monarchy in Greece after World War II. And, to offer a more recent example, Moscow has carefully abided by the terms of the SALT II agreement under an unwritten understanding with Presidents Carter and Reagan. In other words, there are times when Moscow's word is as good as gold, and there are times when it isn't.

The same holds true for our government. After World War II, for instance, we pledged that Germany would not be permitted to rebuild its armed forces or its munitions industry. Those promises were soon forgotten. Now we are pressuring Germany to increase military spending by at least 3 percent a year above its rate of inflation. Postwar planning also called for the demilitarization of Japan. Indeed, Gen. Douglas MacArthur ordered that a clause be inserted in Japan's Constitution limiting the size of its armed forces to what was necessary for keeping internal order. Now we are pressuring Japan to beef up its military machine.

In the Atlantic Charter, signed in 1941, the United States pledged to respect the right of other nations to self-determination. But all Presidents since Truman have authorized intervention abroad by the Central Intelligence Agency and the military, in flagrant violation of that pledge and subsequent ones. We have overthrown Mossadegh in Iran, Arbenz in Guatemala, Bosch in the Dominican Republic, Allende in Chile and possibly Sukarno in Indonesia; we have meddled in the internal affairs of Italy by subsidizing its Christian Democratic Party with millions of dollars; we have provoked strikes (in Guyana, for instance, during the regime of Cheddi Jagan) and broken strikes (in Marseilles, France, for instance, when dockers refused to unload shipments of arms in 1949-50); and we have sent our troops to fight in Korea, Lebanon, the Dominican Republic and Indochina to insure the survival of governments favorable to U.S. business interests.

Actually, without the "you can't trust the Russians" litany conditioning them to fear the Soviet Union, many Americans would long ago have rejected their own government's militaristic policies. In the years right after World War II, when a wave of pacifism was sweeping Europe and, to some extent, the United States, Republican Senator Arthur Vandenberg said that it was necessary to "scare the hell out of the country" in order to retain a large military force. General MacArthur (no dove, he) told the Michigan Legislature on May 15, 1952, "Our country is now geared to an

Sidney Lens is the senior editor of The Progressive. *His latest book is* The Bomb *(E. P. Dutton).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

arms economy which was bred in an artificially induced psychosis of war hysteria and nurtured upon an incessant propaganda of fear."

At the heart of this "artificially induced psychosis" lies the official paranoia that "you can't trust the Russians." For the past thirty-seven years, American Presidents have consistently sidetracked disarmament negotiations by arguing that the Russians were unwilling to agree to "adequate verification." Since we can't trust them, and since they're bound to cheat, hundreds—maybe thousands—of monitors must be placed on Russian soil to check up on them. Even then, the argument goes, you can be sure there will be a few missiles hidden in a cow patch. Verification can never be adequate, hence there is no alternative but to continue amassing more and more nuclear warheads—and to cry more shrilly, "You can't trust the Russians."

There are two arguments that reduce the perfidious-Russians theory to nonsense. First, almost every innovation in nuclear arms technology was made by the United States. We developed the first atom bomb in 1945; they didn't make one until 1949. We exploded the first hydrogen bomb; they succeeded nine months later. The development of the intercontinental ballistic missile was almost a dead heat: they launched the first satellite, while we produced the first military ICBM. We had nuclear submarines before the Russians did. We also had MIRVs (multiple independently-targeted re-entry vehicles), MARVs (maneuverable re-entry vehicles), cruise missiles and much more before they did. We could have called off this game of leapfrog at any point with our side retaining the advantage. By 1975, we had 8,500 strategic warheads, compared with the Russians' 2,500—and ours were twice as accurate, which made them far more lethal.

Second, whether we trust them or they trust us is irrelevant. The Soviet Union's 7,000 or so strategic warheads can destroy the 318 American cities with populations of 60,000 or more many times over. And our 9,200 strategic warheads can annihilate all 218 Soviet cities with populations of 100,000 or more dozens of times over. Even if they cheat or we cheat on disarmament, each side would still have an overkill capability of 90 to 95 percent. In other words, the United States and the Soviet Union could each get rid of 90 to 95 percent of their strategic warheads and still have a credible deterrent force. Verification is of little consequence under these circumstances; only disarmament makes sense.

In September 1945, a month after the first nuclear bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the man who ordered those bombs dropped, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, urged President Truman to form an "atomic partnership" with the Soviet Union. Stimson knew that Truman didn't trust the Russians, but he also knew that trust was not the issue. Unless such a partnership was formed, Stimson wrote, there was sure to be "a secret armaments race of a rather desperate character." On the subject of trust, Stimson, a 77-year-old former Wall Street lawyer, had this to say: "The chief lesson I have learned in a long life is that the only way you can make a man trustworthy is to trust him; and the surest way to make him untrustworthy is to distrust him and show your distrust."

Achieving peace is not a matter of the two superpowers trusting each other; it is a matter of their national interests. It is true that Washington and Moscow have innumerable interests that diverge. They take different positions on almost every international issue. But there is one overriding issue on which their interests converge—survival of the human species. Whether we do or do not trust the Kremlin leadership, the United States cannot continue to exist as a nation (nor can the Soviet Union, nor can any other nation) unless it joins with the rest of the world to eliminate the threat of nuclear incineration. We must work with each other just as two firefighters must work with each other—regardless of personal likes or dislikes—when the flames come roaring toward them.

The "you can't trust the Russians" theme, meaningless to begin with and totally useless in making intelligent foreign policy, serves only the interests of a coterie of leaders, military and civilian, who think that one fine day our scientists will develop a weapon that will force the Russians to cry "uncle." It is time we jettison their infantile notions and force them to end the unwinnable arms race. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

A Saint's Life

LINDA BAMBER

DOROTHY DAY: A Biography. *By William Miller. Harper & Row. 527 pp. $18.95.*

During the winter of 1917-18, Dorothy Day, the future leader of the Catholic Worker movement and the closest thing there is to a twentieth-century American saint, was one of three women in love with Eugene O'Neill. All three were writers and rebels, part of the Greenwich Village revolt against Main Street morality. In the foreground were Day and the journalist Agnes Boulton; in the background was Louise Bryant, O'Neill's lost love, who would soon return from Russia, where she was covering the revolution with John Reed, and attempt to resume her affair with O'Neill. Day had been on the scene before Boulton arrived, hanging around with the Provincetown Players and drinking through the night with O'Neill at The Golden Swan. When the romance between Boulton and O'Neill began, Day took to sleeping in Boulton's apartment, the better to keep tabs on O'Neill. Boulton and O'Neill were married in the spring; in 1926 the marriage broke up when O'Neill met yet another beautiful woman, Carlotta Monterey.

What becomes of this drama if we take the three women, rather than the talented, wounded, alcoholic playwright, as its protagonists? What happened to the Greenwich Village women when the Bohemian moment was over and they found themselves, like the century, in their 30s? The question has an obvious importance to women today, for we are now as far from the 1960s as these women were in the 1930s from the heyday of Greenwich Village.

A crucial difference between our times and the post-Bohemian years is that the 1960s have been survived by a women's movement, and the Bohemian era was not. The Greenwich Village women were culturally stranded in early middle age, and for two of our three protagonists, as for many others, this meant retreat or worse. After her divorce from O'Neill, Boulton remarried and lived quite conventionally, publishing a breathy memoir of her years with the playwright in 1958. Bryant collapsed shortly after Reed died in 1920. Her second marriage ended badly, and from 1930 until her death six years later, she lived as a bag-lady, drinking, picking up men and embarrassing the few friends she had left. For Bryant, the absence of cultural support in the years after World War I was fatal.

For Day, however, as we learn from William Miller's *Dorothy Day: A Biography*, there was neither retreat nor disaster. Day's youth came to an orderly end in 1927, when she gave birth to a daughter, Tamar, was converted to Catholicism and broke off her relationship with Tamar's atheist father, Forster Battenham. To some of her radical friends, Day's postconversion hard line toward "living in sin" seemed a betrayal of her past, but Day's past had never included a belief in free love. Although she had been through an unhappy love affair, a divorce and an abortion, she had always had her own unfashionably conservative views about sex. Moreover, Day was known to have ended many rowdy nights with a quiet visit to a Catholic church. In retrospect, her conversion seems less a reversal than a choice that she gradually grew into as she got older.

What were the consequences for Day of the choice she had made? In the end, her Catholicism enabled her to serve the ideals of her youth: a pacifist and trade unionist, she remained faithful to her days with *The Socialist Call* and the Anti-Imperialist League. But not at first. For five years after her conversion, Day was a drifter, moving with her daughter between New York, Mexico City, Coral Gables and Hollywood, where she did a disastrous stint writing movie dialogue for Pathé. "I was lonely, deadly lonely," she wrote of that period,

> and I was to find out then, as I found out so many times . . . that women especially are social beings, who are not content with just husband and family, but must have a community, a group, an exchange with others. . . . Young and old . . . we women especially are victims of the long loneliness.

Day's loneliness was brought under control in 1932, when she and Peter Maurin founded *The Catholic Worker*, a newspaper that promoted what Maurin called "the Catholic revolution." The response to their call for social change based on personal sacrifice was immediate and sustained. By the end of the decade, the newspaper had a circulation of 150,000, and thirty houses of hospitality for the poor had been opened throughout the country. Day found herself at the center of an immense network of Catholic colleagues, disciples and spiritual guides, and she was welcomed wherever she went to speak, organize, protest, demonstrate. Although Day's religious faith was profound from the start of her life as a Catholic, it was the "community," the "group," the "exchange with others" that gave her her life's work and made her into Dorothy Day. If women today are sustained by the sisterhood of the women's movement, Day was borne forward on the very bosom of Mother Church.

Miller's biography is not concerned with Day as a survivor of Bohemianism, or with her loneliness, or with the contrast she offers to Bryant and Boulton. This book is a saint's life, and for Miller, hagiography precludes bringing any such obviously personal concerns as my own to Day's story. In fact, it is hard to say what Miller *does* bring to Day's story; certainly not any consistent line of inquiry that could shape the book. The "meaning of Dorothy," he tells us, cannot be found in "any of the current fads of personal analysis," nor can she "be made to fit the generalization of the social historians, and most of all, she cannot be psychologically dissected."

Presumably Miller believes that the "meaning of Dorothy" can be found in the simple facts of her life, but the facts are not that simple. For instance, her pacifism was flexible enough to accommodate Sandino's resistance to U.S. aggression in Nicaragua but not the role of the United States in World War II or the resistance to Franco during the Spanish Civil War. Miller refuses ever

Linda Bamber is an associate professor of English at Tufts University and the author of Comic Women, Tragic Men: Gender and Genre in Shakespeare *(Stanford University Press).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

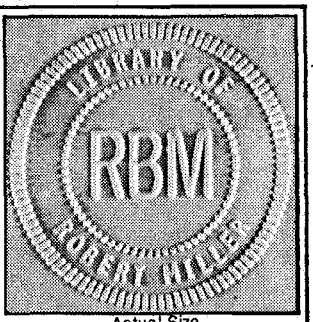
to recognize a problem here. Of her support for Sandino, he chuckles, "working out a logically consistent position where folk heroes were concerned was a problem she could bypass, then and in the future." Miller serenely reports that Day both defied the Catholic hierarchy and claimed absolute obedience to it. Nothing to worry about here, nothing to think through or speculate about. There is something comical about Miller's bland reconciliation of everything with everything, as when he tells us that although *The Catholic Worker* favored a return to peasant society, Day loved cars. "But if cars could be made only by dehumanizing the worker," Miller declares, deftly avoiding the liveliest issues in contemporary socialist thought, "then cars would have to be made by another system." End of paragraph. Onward. Having no critical handle on his abundant material, Miller is at its mercy. "Dorothy had another interesting meeting," we are told in the middle of a paragraph, and a character is wheeled onstage for two sentences before being dismissed forever.

Yet the book is worth plodding through for those with questions of their own to ask about Day's astonishing life. For feminists, certainly, questions proliferate. Was Day's personal peace achieved at the price of her sexuality? Did her scruples against divorce and birth control cramp her daughter's life? With eight children and an indigent husband, Tamar was perpetually dependent on Day for small sums of money. How did it feel to be the daughter of a saint? And then there is the issue of Day as a specifically female saint. Is it because she was a woman that she developed no public presence? She had no costume, no props, no stage manner. While Gandhi created a public persona with his loincloth and his spinning wheel, and Tolstoy had his peasant shirt, Day went onstage looking like a Midwestern librarian and talked in her usual rambling way. She made her decisions over coffee with friends, and once, when she got tired of her obligations, she took a year off and rested. What is gained and what is lost when an influential figure makes no distinction between her public and private selves? William Miller would strenuously disapprove of such questions, but his book gives rise to them, and to many others. □

The Mark of a True Book Lover

Thousands sold at $20 or more!

Now Only $14.95 EACH

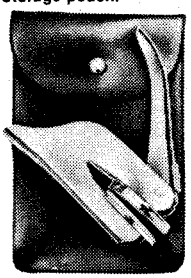


Actual Size

This is the same heavy duty, chrome plated embosser used by librarians to mark and identify books.

Now you can have one with your own name and initials on a 1½" diameter seal. It's easy to use. . . insert the page, squeeze the handle and "LIBRARY OF (your name)" and initials will be clearly embossed (see photo).

This quality embosser is fully guaranteed and comes with a handy storage pouch.



Since this item has to be personalized, please allow 3 to 5 weeks for delivery.

How do you want your seal to read? INITIALS

Print name and initials exactly the way you want them to appear.

NAME

For additional embossers, simply print names and initials on a separate sheet of paper.

Check One

☐ A check or money order is enclosed
☐ Please charge this purchase to:

VISA AMERICAN EXPRESS Card MasterCard

Account # MasterCard

4 digits above your name

Exp. Date _____ Signature _____

BARNES/SALE & NOBLE/ANNEX
126 FIFTH AVENUE DEPT. E 443
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011

Please send me _____ embosser(s) at only $14.95 each plus $1.75 each for postage and insurance. (N.Y. and N.J. residents: Please add sales tax.)

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Offer good only in the continental U.S.A. 0038158

© 1982, Barnes & Noble Bookstores, Inc.

Two great books on ISLAM

Now at your bookstore

VINTAGE BOOKS
A division of Random House

NOW IN PAPERBACK

Naipaul's account of his travels in the Islamic world is "the most notable work on contemporary Islam to have appeared in a very long time" (*New Republic*).

"Brilliant...a book of scathing inquiry and judgment."—*Newsweek* 448 pages, $5.95

AMONG THE BELIEVERS
An Islamic Journey
by V.S. NAIPAUL

JUST PUBLISHED
in hardcover and paperback

"A sensitive and thoughtful analysis with an impressively broad range, accessible in presentation and highly informative. I know of nothing comparable."—Noam Chomsky

"Essential reading for anyone wanting to understand the complexities of Islam."—Robert Lacey, author of *The Kingdom: Arabia and the House of Sa'ud*

Illustrated with maps. 432 pages.
Vintage paper $6.95; Random House hardcover edition, $19.95

FAITH AND POWER
The Politics of Islam
by EDWARD MORTIMER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nation Mart

MARSHALL ARISMAN POSTER

only $4.00
(includes postage).

A limited edition poster of Marshall Arisman's graphic reaction to the Reagan administration is the perfect gift for a friend, or for yourself. Arisman's drawing originally appeared on the cover of *The Nation*'s January 1981 Inauguration issue, E. P. Thompson's "Letter to America." The poster, measuring 16.5" x 24", is printed on fine coated stock.

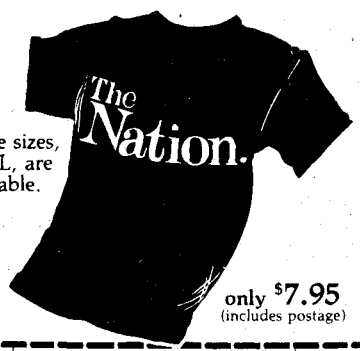
SAVE THE NATION

If you find that you have stacks of *The Nation* that you just can't part with, here are two ways to protect your back issues. Choose either an attractive library case or a binder, both in orange, scuff-resistant Kivar and embossed with *The Nation* logo. Each holds six months—safe from dust and wear—at a bargain price.

BINDERS	LIBRARY CASE
1 for $7.50	1 for $5.95
3 for $21.75	3 for $17.00
6 for $42.00	6 for $30.00

THE NATION SINCE 1865

These 100% cotton T-shirts come in black with white lettering front and back.



Three sizes, S-M-L, are available.

only $7.95
(includes postage)

ORDER FORM

Qty.	Item	Total
	Marshall Arisman Poster	
	Binder(s)	
	Library Case(s)	
	T-Shirt(s) ☐S ☐M ☐L	

Total Enclosed _____

SEND TO:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Mail check or money order to The Nation Reprint Mart, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. *Offers expire February 30, 1983.*

NM8232

Three on Poland

DANIEL SINGER

THE POLISH AUGUST: The Self-Limiting Revolution. *By Neal Ascherson. The Viking Press. 320 pp. $14.95.*

SOLIDARITY: Poland in the Season of its Passion. *By Lawrence Weschler. Simon and Schuster. 221 pp. $16.50.*

THE POLISH COMPLEX. *By Tadeusz Konwicki. Translated by Richard Lourie. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 211 pp. $12.95.*

In August 1980 the Gdansk shipyard workers astonished the world by winning the right to set up a genuinely independent labor union. In December 1981 the tanks of General Jaruzelski put an end to this chapter in the story of the Polish labor movement. In the intervening months Poland was constantly in the headlines, but that does not mean the Western public had a clear idea of the historical importance of what was happening there. The three books under review are designed to help remedy that. Neal Ascherson, a British journalist, tries to put the Polish crisis in historical perspective. Lawrence Weschler, an American reporter, tells us how Poland looked and felt in May and September 1981. Tadeusz Konwicki, the Polish novelist, who published *The Polish Complex* in *samizdat* three years before Gdansk, gives us a symbol for Solidarity's rise and fall: Poles standing in line and waiting not for Godot but for a miracle.

Ascherson has covered Eastern Europe for more than a quarter of a century. He has learned a lot, he writes elegantly, and he has an obvious sympathy for his subject. For a Western reader ignorant of Polish history, *The Polish August* has the great merit of showing that Solidarity did not come out of the blue. His discussion of prewar Poland—Pilsudski and his colonels, the backward Catholic Church, the reactionary National Democracy of Roman Dmowski—is a useful antidote to the recent idealization of Poland's past.

Most coverage of Poland has focused on the highlights: the Poznan riots of 1956, the student defeat of 1968, the workers' bloody achievement of "veto power" in the winter of 1970-71, the confirmation of that victory six years later and, finally, the Gdansk climax of August 1980. Ascherson fills in the valleys between these peaks, and what the story loses in drama, it gains in precision. The snag comes when he recounts the saga of Solidarity, the "self-limiting revolution" of the subtitle. Here the author must impose a pattern on history as it happens, and he is less at ease.

One of the numerous foreigners who became fascinated by Poland in 1956, during its so-called "Spring in October," Ascherson seems somewhat puzzled by the new movement. He writes nostalgically of the period when "revisionist" intellectuals took it on themselves to express the will of the people, and rather regrets that Jacek Kuron and other members of the dissident group KOR simply put themselves at the disposal of the workers. Elsewhere he alludes to the danger of the intelligentsia climbing to power on the backs of the workers, a view which occasionally colors his presentation of the facts. Thus, in describing the negotiations in Gdansk, he claims that "the three workers from the presidium—Gwiazda, Bogdan Lis and Zdzislaw Kobylinski—decided . . . they would be better off without their experts and intellectuals." The trouble with this account is that *most* members of the strike presidium were workers, including, of course, Lech Walesa himself. There were but a few exceptions, like the above-mentioned Andrzej Gwiazda, who is actually a graduate engineer.

Ascherson allows himself little space to record the events after Gdansk, yet he interrupts his narrative for a section in which he analyzes other revolts and the role of intellectuals in general. It's a discussion which is too short to do justice to its subject, but too long for the structure of his book. (In fairness, it must be added that Ascherson was writing during a revolutionary situation, when the course of events changed rapidly.) Though he provides a four-page postscript on the military coup, he barely brings the story to mid-1981 and the Communist Party congress that July.

Daniel Singer, currently based in Paris, is The Nation*'s European correspondent. He is the author of* The Road to Gdansk *(Monthly Review), which was recently updated to comment on the imposition of martial law in Poland.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is to be hoped that Ascherson will update his book and discuss the story of Solidarity as thoroughly as he discussed its background. To do that, however, he will have to make up his mind about revolution from below, because the revisionist hopes for revolution from above have most likely been dashed forever.

Keeping up with the pace of events in Poland was, I know from experience, no sinecure. "This is what history feels like before it settles . . . it's all wet and squishy and it gets into your shoes." The words are Ascherson's, but they are to be found in Lawrence Weschler's *Solidarity*. Weschler, the reporter always in the right place at the right time, is not only, in Christopher Isherwood's phrase, a camera; he also has an ear for the significant piece of dialogue. (Readers might naturally wonder how the horde of foreign journalists who descended on Poland coped with a language full of tongue twisters. The headquarters of Solidarity, for instance, were in a suburb of Gdansk called Wrzeszcz. A tribute must be paid to Polish interpreters, who, cheap at the exchange rate, were eager to help visiting chroniclers.)

Although, unlike Ascherson, Weschler was new to the Polish scene, he was no innocent abroad. He grasped immediately the gap between life in his Hilton-like hotel and life in the streets, the contrast between the everyday corruption of the Communist regime and lofty Marxist principles. When the articles that form the bulk of this book were first published in *The New Yorker*, Weschler's discussion of Polish Jews was singled out for attention. His book, however, contains a great deal more, including unusual information about Muzak and posters and films. How interesting to learn, for instance, that *Norma Rae* was shown in Warsaw to convey the evils of capitalism, but was perceived by the public as proving the need for strong labor unions!

And Weschler also goes to the heart of the matter—Solidarity. He was there through the Solidarity congress last autumn, and his book is full of revealing quotations. He gives us Karol Modzelewski explaining that "we advance across a series of compromises, each of which is unsatisfactory, but the alternative would be disaster." We hear Jan Litynski, the dissident former editor of *Robotnik* (The Worker), proclaiming that "in this country to-day there are two powers and no power."

In the end, though, Weschler's is history through impressions. The great value of his book lies in its accounts of changing moods in a country going through an upheaval. We may not be greeting a new pundit on Eastern Europe, but we can certainly hail the birth of a brilliant reporter.

Tadeusz Konwicki's *The Polish Complex* is a symbolic, surrealist and very Polish story of people standing in line in front of a Warsaw jewelry shop on Christmas Eve, waiting for Russian gold rings which turn out to be samovars. The mood of the author-narrator ranges from despondency, when he sees Poland as rotten and doomed, to euphoria, when he sees it through an inner eye as the country "where people greet each other with a smile, where a policeman lifts a rose instead of a club, where the air is made of oxygen and truth." The book is full of prophetic signs: one man announces that "we are returning to a natural economy," while the hero insists, "yes, you're right, I am waiting for a miracle." With most Poles as exasperated as those standing in Konwicki's line and as eagerly awaiting a miracle, it was not difficult to forecast an explosion.

Unless recently freed, Konwicki is interned somewhere in Poland. But the eighteen months between the beginning of the strikes and the military coup were not a hallucination, and what appeared from outside to be a miracle had its roots in the past, in the altering social structure, in the minds of the working people. Konwicki may even find courage in his own words: "Nameless men have always won their freedom by fighting for it. The name of the heroes are preserved to give us memory and courage, but always, at every moment, good or bad, every time the earth turns, some nameless man is biting off his handcuffs with his own teeth."

The Polish workers' movement is not dead; tomorrow it may spread. It is important to learn about Poland's recent past, for it is relevant not only to the future of Eastern Europe but to our own future as well. □

A Bluffer and a Crook

HANS KONING

MUSSOLINI. *By Dennis Mack Smith. Alfred A. Knopf. 429 pp. $20.*

I am addicted to books about European politics of the 1930s and the world war they culminated in. I was growing up in Amsterdam during those years, and although I was too young to grasp much of what was going on, I share with Europeans of my generation a kind of instinctive understanding of the time: a poverty that America left behind in the nineteenth century; city squares filled with men with red flags and men in black shirts; Hitler's radio speeches; the silence and boredom of empty, carless streets on long Sunday afternoons; American movies, those glimpses of what seemed to us a more glamorous and happier world. Hitler and Mussolini were as much a part of my youth in Holland as Roosevelt was to my coevals in the United States. The Fascist song "Giovinezza" was the anthem of the boys I ran around with in grade school, although we had very little idea what it stood for.

But if I don't need an incentive to read one more book about Mussolini, most readers will. And so the question that arises on opening, or not opening, Dennis Mack Smith's biography is, given the wealth of available books on the subject, why another?

The book itself provides no clear-cut answer. It is heavy with footnotes; the bibliography lists more than a thousand books and articles. But for all its scholarship, it casts no strikingly new light. Its main claim to merit must be that it documents, once and for all, that Mussolini was a crook, and not a very intelligent one at that.

My disappointment with Mack Smith's book stems from a defect it shares with too many biographies: it misses the crucial moments. On one page Mussolini is an obscure and unrespected journalist; on the next he is elected to Parliament and then appointed prime minister by the king. That magic moment when the light of fame suddenly shines down and makes

Hans Koning's latest book is The Kleber Flight *(Atheneum).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

someone a public personality remains unexplained: Why *him*? The omission is crucial, for Mussolini had no obvious qualifications for his role: his politics were vague and shifting, and neither his bad health nor his mediocre record during World War I gave credence to his statements about the blessings of virility, violence and living dangerously. The shock of that mysterious transition is not in Mack Smith's book, and when, twenty years later, Mussolini is once more a private citizen—unshaven, the collar of his coat turned up, trying to escape across the Swiss border—the reversal does not come across as much of an event either. In between, though, some 30 million Italians allowed him to ruin their country.

Mack Smith does, however, present a vast amount of data, and every reader will surely find some he has never heard before. That the Italians, in collaboration with the Germans, ran an extermination camp near Trieste during the last year of the war was a new and startling fact for me. On a less sinister level, we learn that Mussolini's father named his son after the Mexican liberator Benito Juárez. However, there is information in this book that I doubt is true, such as Mack Smith's claim that the Japanese told Mussolini four days in advance that they were going to attack Pearl Harbor. Mack Smith's source was Mussolini's own diaries, but as even Hitler wasn't told, it is hard to believe the Japanese entrusted the secret to Il Duce's sloppy court.

Mack Smith reminds us that Mussolini was a muddle-headed man, a bluffer, playing an inane power game. With virtually all of Italian academia at its service—less than 1 percent of Italian university professors refused to swear an oath of allegiance to Il Duce in 1931—Fascism was unable to come up with any coherent philosophy or economic theory. It was first and last, as Mussolini himself finally admitted, "a mere expedient adopted . . . as a means of winning personal power." But how could this leader of a motorcycle gang without motorcycles have become the dictator of a civilized country? How could he have impressed so many Western statesmen with his trains running on time (even that wasn't true)? How could his phony glorification of war (tasted from a safe distance) have held so many of my generation in thrall or in fear?

Mack Smith gives no direct answer. Toward the end of his narrative, he even seems to forget his own characterization of Mussolini as a loud-mouthed nonentity. He writes that Mussolini was too vain to admit that his command of German was mediocre, and then goes on to say that because of his bad German, Mussolini could not convince Hitler that a frontal attack on France in the spring of 1940 was a bad tactic. But a study of German war plans shows that even the fluency of a Goethe could not have stopped Hitler, who was quite right in his assessment of the French defense strength. Anyway, Mack Smith, like Chamberlain, gives too much importance to the famous "friendship" between the two men. There is no evidence that Hitler ever took Mussolini, his advice or, for that matter, his army seriously, and his affection for Il Duce, I suspect, belonged in the same category as his sentimental affection for his old comrades of the Munich *Bierhalle*. Again, when Mack Smith says that Mussolini's stomach ailment made him unfit "to carry out his job at a crucial moment in the war," he appears to have forgotten that he himself has shown there was no such job, that the man filled his years with reading newspapers, theatrics, brooding and mistresses, and that no amount of robust health could have enabled him to turn Italy's shabby armed forces into "the fist of steel," "the ten million bayonets," which he spoke of for so long.

With all due respect for Mack Smith's diligent fact-collecting, I would invite the reader to go beyond his interpretive framework and ponder how Il Duce's fraudulent performance could have captured a nation, kept it silent and led it into a devastating war—to ponder, in short, the pitfalls that a basically democratic people face when the state overwhelms them with spurious commercials for patriotism and national honor. There is a crucial lesson to be drawn from the sad and shameful life of Benito Mussolini. □

Join the Nation Associates, a loyal and committed group of our readers who provide invaluable support for the magazine through annual contributions of $50 and up (annual membership includes a one-year subscription to *The Nation* and participation in a variety of Nation Associates activities).

For further information, please write, or call Claudine Bacher at (212) 242-8400.

Earache

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

EAR ON WASHINGTON: A Chrestomathy of Scandal, Rumor and Gossip Among the Capital's Elite. *By Diana McLellan. Arbor House. 304 pp. $14.95.*

Diana McLellan is precisely the sort of British journalist I left London to get away from. The Fleet Street gossip column is a hideous invention, at once bullying and sycophantic. Under the pretense of daring exposure and rapier wit lurks a horrid conformism and a lust for easy targets. As for the style necessitated by this kind of journalism, it is typically arch, gushing and repetitive. Unfunny euphemisms ("confirmed bachelor" for homosexual) are thought of as subversive coinage. The mighty and the famous occasionally use such columns to take revenge on their friends by means of leaks. But for the most part the scandal page is a banal conveyor belt for received ideas, old gags and witch hunts against the deviant. The really bad gossip writers aren't even reactionary—just boring. McLellan is a soupy blend of both.

What on earth, one is moved to inquire, does *The Washington Post* want with one of these exhibits? The paper has cut down the appearances of "Ear" to four a week, as if to say that it doesn't really endorse this shop-soiled survivor of the defunct *Washington Star*, but the comparative rarity of the column's appearance only makes it look worse. Perhaps Ben Bradlee thinks that McLellan has that elusive Brit cachet? But, no, that can't be right.

Here is a ripe sample from what some

Christopher Hitchens is The Nation*'s Washington correspondent.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have called a wickedly mischievous love-it-or-hate-it-you-must-read-it anthology:

> "I see you wear a hearing aid too, senator."
>
> "Oh, well, yes. But it's not because I'm hard of hearing, just helps filter out background noise in the hearing rooms."
>
> "Oh, really? What kind is it?"
>
> "Let's see. Exactly 4:30."

I wish I had a dollar for every year that has elapsed since I first heard that joke. McLellan attributes it to Senator Charles Percy, which is odd since, for a gossip columnist, she uses blind attributions ("one aide") more than most—almost as often as she employs the word "darling."

That habit by itself gives the lie to her claim to fearlessness. (In truth, I have never met a gossip columnist who wasn't a coward.) You can search through this entire collection of cultured pearls without finding a single real gem, a single item that would embarrass anybody rich, famous or powerful. The only tales that are even faintly waspish concern members of the Carter hick entourage, now safely removed from pelf and power. On their own, these are no funnier than the labored gags about ham-fisted servants that used to appear in *Punch*. (As I had feared, the antique story about gauche dinner guests drinking from their fingerbowls appears here more than once.)

Then there's the pseudo-knowing style of writing. Give ear to this:

> It is very poor form in Washington to use your host's bed for any purpose other than storing outer clothing. Even a rather hip D.C. crowd was enraged on going to the bedroom of one chic political journalist to retrieve their coats. They found them buried beneath an amorous New York journalist and his then current belle.

Everything is wrong with that paragraph. The first sentence tells you what the last sentence (I refuse to call it a punch line) is going to be. "Rather hip," "chic," "amorous" and "belle" are not naughty or clever; they are tired affectations. And what's the point of the tale if McLellan doesn't identify the New York journalist? (*I* know, but *The Nation* is for family reading, not sleazy revelations.)

On almost every page there is either a breathtaking "so what" story or a whiskered and recycled curio. The line about the man who gets his lab sample back with a note warning that his horse may have diabetes cracked many a grin during the Depression. It's hardly any better when it's (allegedly) quoting Walter Mondale on Billy Carter's beer.

Diana McLellan is a sort of sad omnivore. All jokes are funny, all gossip is "scandal," anything involving people she's heard of is a revelation about the private lives of the stratospheric. But she has no sorting process. The only "scoop" she ever got—the bugging of Blair House—turned out to be a turkey. She lacks the most basic attribute of a gossip writer—a posture of antagonism. Here she is, revealingly, on the denizens of her Washington beat:

> The great show rolls on. The players make us mad, they make us laugh, they make us cheer and cringe and blow razzberries and pay taxes.
>
> They've got an awful lot of guts.
>
> I salute them.

She does *what*? Here we are in the Washington of Ronnie and Nancy, with crass vulgarity and foolishness abounding on every side, and *The Washington Post* has a gossip column that is, by its own admission, *perfectly innocuous*! Alexander Pope described this kind of courtier coverage very well:

> Willing to wound and yet afraid to strike
> Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike.
> Alike reserved to blame, or to commend,
> A timorous foe, and a suspicious friend.

McLellan, with a style and a column that grow more ingratiating and desperate every week, is certainly not going to risk offending the supply-side high society. Her reputation, then, is the only really mysterious thing about her. □

Critical Acclaim for
CLASS PUNK, A NOVEL

"Makes Holden Caulfield look like Little Lord Fauntleroy."
—*Publishers Weekly*

"Makes Holden Caulfield look like Mary Poppins."
—*Kirkus*

"Makes Holden Caulfield look like a nice kid, very polite, with few problems and an easygoing manner." —*The Village Voice*

"Makes Holden Caulfield look like a Boy Scout with many merit badges, probably a troop leader, who is sure to make Eagle."
—*The New York Times*

"Makes Holden Caulfield look like one of the Osmonds, a particularly respectful one who calls adults 'sir' and 'ma'am' and has excellent posture."
—*The Denver Post*

"Makes Holden Caulfield look like his hair is always neatly combed, his clothing cleaned and pressed, who plays fair, has no neuroses, and is likely to make a fine father, a good provider and a valued member of the community." —*Library Journal*

"Makes Holden Caulfield look like a guy who knows from nothing about sex or drugs, but is always prompt, is a fine student and a pleasure to have in class, and he wears brown shoes and bow ties and is a shoo-in for student-council president." —*National Public Radio*

"Makes Holden Caulfield look like a mensch, a real human being, a prince, a credit to his people, a joy to his family and a respected member of the literary profession. I feel honored just to have him as a character in a book on a shelf in my home. Sure, he's a little naïve, but he's got those basic, solid values, and he never spits or curses. You'd never have to worry about your daughter if she went out on a date with Holden Caulfield, boy. He'd have her back at 11 on the dot. You could even lend him your car, and he'd return it with the tank filled. He'd maybe even buy new tires for it; radials. The guy is a saint!"
—*The Miami Herald*

RANDY COHEN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Events.

BLOCKADE THE PENTAGON
November 2, 1982
On election day, whatever your vote, make it "NO" to nuclear annihilation.
For information contact: Jonah House, 1933 Park Avenue, Baltimore, MD 21217. (301) 669-6265.

Group for a Radical Human Science
begins its third year with an
Open Presentation & Discussion:
Alternatives to Psychoanalytic Theory
Saturday, September 26, 1982
New York University
Main Building/4th Floor
12:30-4:30
Free/Open to the public

WRITERS IN CRISIS
Saturday, October 23, 9-5 P.M.
State University of New York, Purchase Campus
Speakers include: Judy Blume, Merle Miller, Norman Rosten, Nora Sayre, Lois Gould, Nancy Milford, Saul Stein, Victor Navasky, Susan Lukas, Alice Lake, Ann McGovern and Emily Hanlon.
Pre-registration, $10; at door, $15. For more information contact Peggy Levin, (914) 472-2569.
Sponsored by Westchester and Connecticut writers, The American Writers Congress, SUNY at Purchase, The Nation Institute, Croton Review and Westchester Women's News.

Let Nation readers know about your event!
They want to know:
WHAT'S GOING ON
WHERE and
WHEN

Events.

I have enclosed _____ camera ready ad
_____ copy to be set
_____ inches per ad
_____ times ad should run
$_____ check or money order

Name _____
Organization _____
Address _____
City, State, Zip _____
Phone _____

The Nation is published on Saturdays. It reaches subscribers and newsstands 5 days in advance of Saturday cover date.
We need your ad or copy by Tuesday, 11 days prior to cover date. We will accept phone-in copy. Call Virginia Cannon (212) 242-8400.
Rates: $30 per column inch. **Special offer, limited time only!** 3 ads for the price of 2.

Allende's End

JONATHAN E. MASLOW

THE MURDER OF CHILE: Eyewitness Accounts of the Coup, the Terror, and the Resistance Today. *By Samuel Chavkin. Everest House. 286 pp. $13.95.*

You don't have to be a bleeding heart to cry for Chile: a democracy destroyed by treachery, its socially progressive economy delivered to Prof. Milton Friedman's laboratory by the dictator you love to hate, Augusto Pinochet. *The Murder of Chile* recounts the grisly story of Chile's downfall, from the morning of September 11, 1973, when Salvador Allende and his comrades made their last stand against the junta's troops in La Moneda, the presidential palace; through the long, dark nights of arrests, tortures, executions and concentration camps; to the country's current state of impoverishment, despair and resistance.

Using reports by the participants—from Allende's top officials to the shantytown dwellers who fought the junta's tanks with stones and popguns—Samuel Chavkin provides an hour-by-hour account of the coup. Haunting images rise from the battle smoke. There is the stalwart Allende, shouting into the telephone at the military aide who relayed the junta's ultimatum that he resign and go into exile, "Tell them I am the President and it is here at La Moneda that I am going to remain." There is the Swedish Ambassador Harold Edelstam, dispensing with diplomatic nicety and slugging it out with the junta's thugs to save a Uruguayan woman they were trying to kidnap from a hospital operating table. There is Pablo Neruda penning his last verses on his deathbed, with the stone faces of the junta's soldiers staring into every window of his house. There is Joan Jara, wife of Chile's popular folksinger Victor Jara, pulling his mutilated body from the heap of corpses at the Santiago morgue—the fingers that had strummed the tragedy of Chile's downtrodden on the guitar, smashed to pulp.

The accounts of Allende's last hours serve as a needed corrective to the shabby story put out by the junta of a weak, indecisive man who committed suicide at the moment of truth; they remind us what an extraordinary politician Allende was—principled, dedicated, energetic and tough. (By contrast, Isabel Letelier, widow of Allende's Defense Minister, Orlando Letelier, recalls her husband's impression of Pinochet, his subordinate: "Orlando said that Pinochet often reminded him of a barber-shop attendant armed with a whisk broom, waiting for a tip.")

Perhaps the most moving passage in Chavkin's account is Senator Hugo Miranda's description of the imprisonment of Allende partisans in the Dawson Island concentration camp. The prisoners—beaten, starved and freezing—still managed to organize lecture seminars: "Fernando Flores, an internationally recognized authority on cybernetics, discussed his subject and took questions. Dr. Edgardo Enriquez, a famous neurologist, guided us through the mysterious neural pathways of the cerebral area. Former Foreign Minister Almeyda and [former Economics Minister Pedro] Vuskovic exchanged views on the theories of knowledge." One of the prison officials, Miranda tells Chavkin, shouted with glee when the camp construction was finished: "Look at the design, look at the fence. See the turrets? Exactly like the German camps in the movies. Isn't it marvelous? And we did it all ourselves."

Nevertheless, Chavkin is no Orwell, and *The Murder of Chile* is no *Homage to Catalonia*. Chavkin's historical analysis suffers from the same well-meaning oversimplification that was evident in Costa-Gavras's film on the Chilean coup, *Missing*. Chavkin's exposition of the American destabilization of Chile, like the Senate select committee's report from which much of his information comes, singles out the Central Intelligence Agency and the Nixon-Kissinger team for blame, but mentions only in passing that it was the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, obsessed with preventing Allende from winning the presidency, that laid the foundation for American covert action in Chile while simultaneously building an anti-communist alternative in the Christian Democratic Party. With Chilean darlings and American agents in place, all Nixon had to do was to give Helms the order to "make Chile scream." Yet at only one point in the testimony Chavkin presents are the Christian Democrats

Jonathan E. Maslow was a journalist in Chile in 1971 and 1972.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

accused of involvement in the destabilization and coup—and he fails to investigate the charge.

Nor could the Nixon Administration have been so arrogant with Allende without the tacit permission of the Soviet Union. The coup took place in the heady days of détente, when Henry the Clever and Leonid the Shrewd agreed to stay out of each other's sphere of influence. Chavkin does not criticize the Chilean Communists, who urged Allende to slow the pace of reform, hold back the mass movement of peasants and workers, and avoid confrontation with the United States. Decades of obeisance to Moscow and slavish Stalinism had made the Communists smug and conservative, and they were not delighted by the prospect of a grass-roots revolution of the kind the Altimirano wing of Allende's Socialist Party fought for. To the very end the Communists imagined they could cut a deal with the Christian Democrats or with the military—if only Eduardo Frei or Pinochet had given 'em good meeting. Chavkin highlights the human drama, but he obscures the lessons of Allende's downfall: if you've got a revolutionary situation, arm the workers, despite what the Communists tell you. And always be careful driving down the democratic road to socialism: the superpowers are waiting at every crossroad to run you over. □

FILMS.

ROBERT HATCH

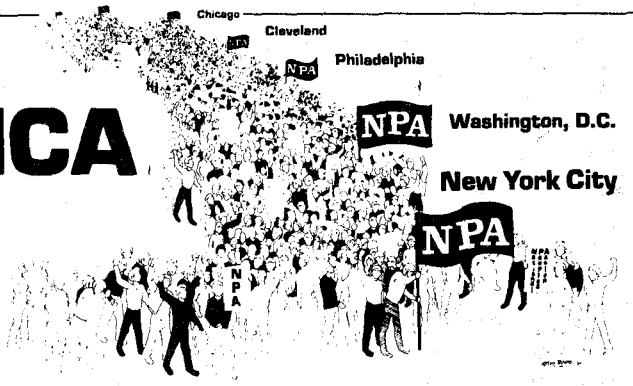
Pink Floyd—The Wall
A Midsummer Night's Sex Comedy
The Nest (El Nido)

When I came up to the box office, the woman behind the glass gave me a quick look and warned, "It's a noisy picture, sir." I'd guessed as much from the crowd in the lobby—no one in sight looked old enough to remember the Cuban missile crisis, and a tolerance for sound at levels that strike me as grotesquely excessive seems characteristic of the post-Kennedy generation.

This time, however, the uproar, visual as well as audible, is appropriate. *Pink Floyd—The Wall* is a manifestation of madness, which I can believe might well take the form of excruciating amplification of the senses. The film is composed partly of surreal animation (by Gerald Scarfe, the British satirical cartoonist), partly of kaleidoscopically fragmented live action (by the cinematographer Peter Biziou, who also worked on *The Life of Brian* and *Time Bandits*). Roger Waters, lyricist for the British rock group Pink Floyd, wrote the script and much of the music—initially for a stage show and record album. The movie's director is Alan Parker (*Bugsy Malone*, *Midnight Express*, *Fame*, *Shoot the Moon*), a bold and talented gambler.

The picture opens in a Los Angeles hotel room, where Pink, the disintegrating hero, is gazing into the empty space of an old war picture being rerun on television and adding the final blocks to the wall that shields him from reality. He is played by Bob Geldof (the lead singer for the Irish band the Boomtown Rats), here making his screen debut. Pink's brain, where the action is seated,

RECLAIM AMERICA



Reclaim your right to:

- a job
- affordable credit
- affordable fuel
- affordable housing
- affordable health care
- your tax dollars
- a safe environment
- social security

You are no doubt keenly aware of how hard people have been hit by layoffs, high interest rates, energy costs and, of course, the massive federal budget cutbacks.

You are probably also aware that there has been a growing flurry of activity by community organizations, peace groups, unions, church groups, public interest groups and all people's organizations to fight the effects of these setbacks.

What you may not have been aware of is that the dilemma has caused these organizations to embark on a combined campaign to reorder the priorities of this country's decision makers. The effort, sponsored by National People's Action, is RECLAIM AMERICA.

RECLAIM AMERICA is a rallying cry for millions of people who have been economically discriminated against. Millions of people are unemployed, unable to buy homes, unable to afford rent, cannot buy heating fuel, threatened by foreclosure, cannot borrow to build neighborhood businesses, cannot keep their family farms, cannot manage health care costs, cannot bring improvements to their communities, and most of all, cannot compete with large banks and large corporations who are making record-breaking profits and are also now getting the benefits of even larger tax breaks.

It is a campaign steeped in citizen involvement and grassroots patriotism and has grown out of a need to deal with those issues which will determine the direction of our economy and the current policies of our government.

It's our country. We want it back!

Put Washington on notice!
Meet in LaFayette Park—10:30 a.m.
September 13, 1982

Put Wall Street on notice!
Meet in Battery Park—10 a.m.
September 14, 1982

I WANT TO RECLAIM AMERICA:

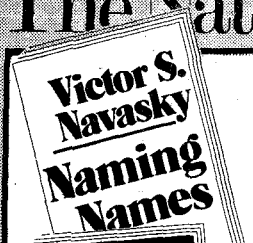
Name _____
Address _____
_____
Telephone _____

□ I want to make a donation
□ $25 □ $35 □ $50 □ $100 □ $500
□ I want to organize in my town
□ I want someone to talk to my organization, church, senior group or other meeting

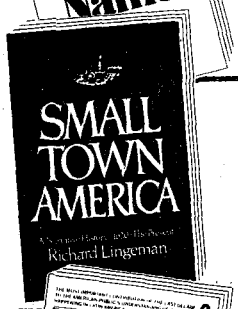
Mail to RECLAIM AMERICA, 1123 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, IL 60607 or Call (312) 243-3038.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

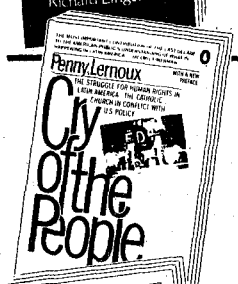
The Nation Book Mart



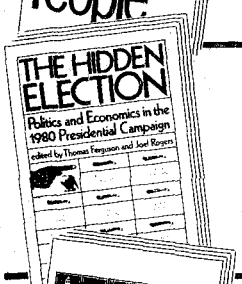
NAMING NAMES
By Victor S. Navasky
Winner: 1981 American Book Award
"The moral issues raised by the Hollywood blacklist remain fearfully complex and Victory S. Navasky confronts them with almost exquisite precision in this lucid and dramatic study of Hollywood during the McCarthy years." *The New York Times*
$5.95 Paper plus $1.50 handling/**$15.95 Cloth** plus $1.75 handling



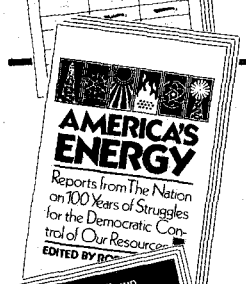
SMALL TOWN AMERICA
A Narrative History 1620-The Present.
By Richard Lingeman
Small Town America is nothing less than a history of the United States told through a penetrating study of the development of its small towns. Filled with fascinating detail, it pleases us as it informs, appealing to scholar and general reader alike.
$8.95 Paper plus $1.50 handling/**$15.95 Cloth** plus $1.75 handling



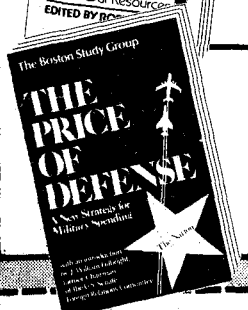
CRY OF THE PEOPLE
By Penny Lernoux
Cry of the People is a compelling account of what is happening all over Latin America today based on accounts of both witnesses and victims. It is also a powerful indictment of U.S. policy there and of our silent complicity in the activities of totalitarian regimes.
$6.95 Paper plus $1.50 handling/**$14.95 Cloth** plus $1.75 handling



THE HIDDEN ELECTION
Politics and Economics in the 1980 Presidential Campaign.
Edited by *Nation* columnists Tom Ferguson and Joel Rogers
"A delightfully unconventional assessment of the 1980 election that is certain to bring partisan juices to the boil. *The Hidden Election* should be read now—and reread in 1984."
Library Journal
$7.98 Paper plus $1.50 handling/**$16.00 Cloth** plus $1.75 handling



AMERICA'S ENERGY
SPECIAL
Edited by Robert Engler
The Energy Crisis wasn't born yesterday. To understand how the corporations got the oil (and gas and coal and electricity) and we got the headaches, read this compendium of reports from *The Nation* on 100 years of struggles for the democratic control of our resources.
ONLY **$3.50 Paper (Reg. $7.85)** (includes handling)



THE PRICE OF DEFENSE
A New Strategy for Military Spending
By The Boston Study Group
The only book in which ordinary citizens get a thoroughly researched, intelligently argued presentation of U.S. military capabilities and commitments.
Special *Nation* Paperback Edition **$4.95 Paper** plus $1.50 handling

THE NATION BOOK MART ORDER FORM

NB8232

Qty.	Item	Paper	Cloth	Total	
	Naming Names	$ 7.45	$17.70		
	Small Town America	10.45	17.70		
	Cry of the People	8.45	16.70		
	The Hidden Election	9.48	17.75		
	America's Energy	3.50	—		
	The Price of Defense	6.45	—		

TOTAL ENCLOSED

SEND TO:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Mail check or money order to The Nation Book Mart, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. *Offers expire Feb. 30, 1983.*

smokes not only with his own horrors but with those of his father, who was dying at Anzio as he was being born in London. The images begin with the boy's lonely resentment of adult despotism. They develop into an ever more tumultuous phantasmagoria of sex, power and the solitude of fame. Soon the theater seems ablaze with high-technology distortions of sound and sight—bewildering, frightening, sometimes beautiful—and delivered at a speed and with an intensity to which the only possible response is submission. The effect is similar to that of standing beneath a great cataract. One's normal responses to stimuli are paralyzed by the uproar, and that induces a kind of euphoria. You find yourself laughing and cheering, exulting vicariously in the driving rhythm.

It was thoughtful of the cashier to warn me, but I came from the theater feeling purged and lighthearted. It was some time before I woke up to realize that I'd been attending the inner torment of a man in the final stages of self-destruction. It's an odd way to get a lift.

Admirers of Woody Allen, myself included, have been urging him to absent himself awhile from mid-Manhattan and its attendant anxieties. Now he has done just that and I applaud the move, though I'm not very happy with the result.

The inspiration for *A Midsummer Night's Sex Comedy*, obvious enough from the title, is made explicit by the overture trumpets letting fly with Mendelssohn. Three couples are diverting themselves in a New England farmhouse turned weekend retreat. It is on the edge of a forest that may well be enchanted. The time, established by dress and motor cars, is about 1900; the dialogue, however, is contemporary in content and a bit wooden in tone. Allen's plot, though hardly memorable, is deft. It shuffles the couples like a slim deck of cards and deals two satisfactory pairs out of a possible three. There is one casualty, but it befalls a man advanced in years if not in wisdom (he might be thought to wear cross-garters). Thus, there is also one lone damsel, but she seems more than competent to improve her state. All in all, it is a happy ending after the predictable harassments of the heart, some boisterous misunderstandings and not a little help from unseen forces.

But the atmosphere is wrong. Allen,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

t would seem, has brought his cares ..ith him, and they are incompatible with bucolic revels. The fault is not in he character he plays—a chap over-eager to please, who spends his holidays rom Wall Street inventing such things is a Yankee apple-peeler that works admirably and a pedal-powered airplane hat works only when its operator gives t his undivided attention. The strain appears in the direction, which seems not unlike that of a hostess who fears the oufflé will not rise. The players gambol, but as though on instructions to do o. They attempt to toss about the glittering ball of amorous attraction, but it es heavy in their hands. Allen has evised a debate between the disciplinarian of reason and the champions of he spirit, but it lacks the playfulness of hilosophy on holiday. It is unfair to hide him for not being Shaw or hakespeare, but he invites the comarison. It could be that he means to ay we can no longer even pretend to nocence, but I think not. I believe he eached out for gaiety, but, fearing it ight elude him, provided himself with safety net of ready-made sophistication. Titania won't smile on the faint f heart.

The gentlemen of the company, along ith Allen, are José Ferrer and Tony oberts; their ladies are Mary Steenurgen, Mia Farrow and Julie Hagerty.

I went to see Jaime de Armiñán's *The est* (*El Nido*) because an advance otice quoted *Film Quarterly* as saying at it "consciously evokes two classics—ervantes's *Don Quixote* and Shakeeare's *Macbeth*," and that seemed an nterprising bit of work. It is about a ch old gentleman who is so exquisitely ultivated that he is given to conducting imaginary orchestra while seated stride a horse. He encounters, with chrymose and lethal results, an embitred teen-age girl who has been cast as ady Macbeth in a school play because, s the drama mistress explains, she has a recocious understanding of evil.

Film Quarterly also says that the film "marvelously intelligent" and that it voids all clichés." I found it marvously dopey and so cliché-ridden that seemed the essence of all the tales ever ld about besotted old men and bloodyinded young women. There is some easant Spanish scenery, and the sound ack carries a melodious selection from e elderly lover's operatic record colction. The players are Héctor Alterio nd Ana Torrent. □

CLASSIFIED.

APARTMENTS WANTED

A LARGE STUDIO apartment for Israeli writer visiting New York for three months starting immediately. Please call Eric Etheridge at The Nation 242-8400.

ASSOCIATIONS

BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY. Information: N, RD1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.

BOOKS

MINIATURE BOOKS OF JAPAN. Tatsuo Go, Moritakabatake 621, Toyama City, 931, Japan.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS CREATED JESUS, authored gospels. Positive proof: scholarly booklet. $3. Vector, Box 6215-A, Bellevue, WA 98007.

UNSAVED DEAD—Hope for them? FREE 80-page color book, others. Standard (N), Chester Springs, PA 19425.

RUDOLF STEINER & ANTHROPOSOPHY. Impulses for cultural renewal: education, medicine, architecture, agriculture, etc. FREE CATALOG. Anthroposophic Press, 258 Hungry Hollow Rd., Spring Valley, NY 10977.

STILL LOOKING FOR A BOOK? Free search service pls. write Peter Sperling-Books, Dept. A, PO Box 300, Old Chelsea Sta., New York, NY 10113-0300.

JERZY KOSINSKI: LITERARY ALARMCLOCK by Dr. Byron L. Sherwin, the first comprehensive study of Kosinski's life and work. $5.95. Cabala Press, 2421 W. Pratt, Chicago, IL 60645.

LET ME DIE BEFORE I WAKE
By Derek Humphry (author of Jean's Way)

This unique guide to self-deliverance for the dying person available to Hemlock members. For details send SASE to
Hemlock: P.O. Box 66218, Los Angeles
CA 90066 or phone (213) 391-1871

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

ESTABLISHED, INDEPENDENT publisher seeks an association with someone who shares a commitment to publishing books of literary, social and political significance. Inquiries invited. Nation Box 23.

BUTTONS/BUMPERSTICKERS

IMP O RON, "Impeach Ron"-with peach art in center. A peach of a bumper sticker. 2 for $2. 6 for $5. 12 for $10. Send check to: Bumpers Co., PO Box 23316, Richfield, MN 55423.

KICK THE MISSILE labels (1"x1") 3 pkgs. of 100 ea., $5 plus 75¢ postage.

KICK THE BOMB HABIT bumper stickers $1.50 ea., plus 50¢ postage.

Residents of Wash. state add 6.5% sales tax.
Cause-Way, PO Box 15897, Seattle, WA 98115.

EDUCATION

LATIN & GREEK. College professor offers tutoring to suit individual needs in the New York area. (201) 792-5355.

EDUCATION

FAIRHAVEN COLLEGE. Long experience in helping students find, shape and pursue their own directions. Graduates have outstanding records with top graduate and professional schools, business, government. Tough liberal arts core followed by student-devised concentration or conventional University major. Intimate learning (250 students) with resources of large University (10,000) at hand. Superb faculty. Beautiful Northwest setting. Admissions, Fairhaven College, Western Washington University, Bellingham, WA 98225. (206) 676-3678.

FOR SALE

SILVER, OLD STERLING FLATWARE patterns. Many in stock. Will search for others. Send "wants" list and SASE to: J. E. Mettler, Box #11077, Govans, Baltimore, MD 21212. Phone: (301) 547-1013.

GAMES & PUZZLES

THE NATION'S BEST CROSSWORD PUZZLES are collected in Frank Lewis' latest book, #4. Send $3.75 to E. S. Lewis, 62 Fort St., Fairhaven, MA 02719.

GUIDES TO WISDOM

THOUGHT: Miracle Tool for Effective Living. $2 and SASE. Cuts labor, time and pain. Commonsense Books, 212N North Road, Chelmsford, MA 01824.

HELP WANTED

OFFICE-RESEARCH POSITION with Mark Green's Democracy Project in NYC for student taking year off or just out of college. Low pay, high rewards. Call (212) 308-0707.

INSURANCE

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.
ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE
Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning
11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, N.Y. 11021
212-895-7005, 516-466-4642

INVENTIONS

IDEAS, INVENTIONS WANTED for presentation to industry. 1-800-528-6050, Arizona, 1-800-352-0458, x831.

LITERARY SERVICES

FICTION CONSULTANT. 2227 20 St. N.W., 402 Washington, DC 20009.

MERCHANDISE

VACUUM CLEANERS: "Discount Prices" "New" Rainbow $349.95, Kirby, Filter Queen, Compact, Details: ABC Vacuum Warehouse, 7021 Burnet-N, Austin, TX 78757.

MOVIE STAR PHOTOS by the millions. For illustrated brochure send $1 to: Movie Star News, Dept. N, PO Box 191, New York, NY 10276.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

MERCHANDISE

CELTIC FOLK HARPS—Legendary sound, master quality. Caswell Harps, 14690 Carrier, Guerneville, CA 95446.

MISCELLANEOUS

DISARM YOURSELF. Stamped envelope to New Party, 8319 Fulham Court, Richmond, VA 23227.

CULTURGRAMS: 4-page cultural summaries on over 70 cultures. For complimentary Culturgram and publications list, write BYU/CIAS, PO Box 61-G FOB, Provo, UT 84602 or call (801) 378-6528.

ACCURATE TAROT reading, send $10 and 3 questions along with stamped self-addressed envelope to PO Box 1107, Richmond, CA 94802.

$$$$ FOR COLLEGE EDUCATION. 250,000 scholarships & loans available. Free literature. Write to: Educational, 3651 NI-Tilden, Los Angeles, CA 90034.

COLLEGE DEGREES BY MAIL from outstanding universities. Accredited Bachelors, Masters, Ph.D.'s. Free revealing details. Careers, Box 45886N, Tulsa, OK 74145.

Grab the Reader's Attention with a Picture or Logo or **BIGGER, BOLDER TYPE!**

Sell your product more effectively. Our special offer is extended to display classifieds. Pay for two insertions and get a third insertion free!

Rates: $30 per column inch.

PERSONALS

UNATTACHED? Meet aware, literate singles—like YOU! Very low fee. Call DATELINE—free: 800-451-3245.

ATTRACTIVE CAUCASIAN MALE, 38, phenomenal health/attitude desires marriage with slim lady of means to aid in career change. Promise dynamic christian living/tenderness. For details and photos: contact John Jay, 7373 Cochran Road, Glenwillow, OH 44139. Phone: (216) 232-5217.

GAY WOMEN WRITE/MEET through The Wishing Well Magazine Program. Since 1974. Confidential, supportive, dignified, prompt. A family feeling. Tender, loving alternative to "The Well of Loneliness." Introductory copy $5 (mailed discreetly first class). PO Box 117, Novato, CA 94948-0117.

LONELY PRISONER: Please write to me, Gus G. Owens, PO Box 45699-138775, Lucasville, OH 45699-0001.

NEW-AGE SINGLES meet and publish in Contact High. Free details (sample $2); PO Box 500-N, Mendocino, CA 95460.

POSITIONS WANTED

LIVE-IN SITTER Responsible, recent University of Chicago graduate is interested in serving as tutor and live-in sitter in exchange for room and board in New York City area. Excellent references and experience. Evenings phone (212) 254-6621.

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY—TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for one dollar from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

GLOBAL THREATS to Third World minorities reported and analyzed in CULTURAL SURVIVAL QUARTERLY. For sample: CULTURAL SURVIVAL, 11 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138.

HOME PLANET NEWS, New York's independent literary quarterly: poetry, fiction, theater, news of the literary scene. $5 per year. Sample $1. PO Box 415, New York, NY 10009.

PUBLICATIONS

ALTERNATIVE WORK IN NYC—a comprehensive listing of cooperative and democratic work places. $5. Check or money order. Delhi Distributors, 1181 Amsterdam Ave., New York, NY 10027.

READ THE GUARDIAN, America's #1 independent Marxist newsweekly. National, international coverage. Write for FREE introductory 4-week subscription. Guardian, Dept. NA, 33 W. 17th St., New York, NY 10011.

"NUCLEAR WAR is a terrifying possibility . . . but chemical warfare is a terrifying reality." Free brochure, or poster. Stop Chemical Atrocities, 413 E. Capitol Street, Washington D.C.20003.

COLLEGE STUDENTS! Improve your grades. Termpaper catalog: 306 pgs., 10,278 topics. Rush $1. Research, 11322 Idaho Ave. #206NT, Los Angeles, 90025. (213) 477-8226. Custom research also available.

CREDIT, DIVORCE, PRIVACY PROBLEMS. Our books have the solutions. Send for free catalog. Eden Press, 11623 Slater, Box 8410NG, Fountain Vly, CA 92708.

SUBSCRIBE to the only general interest magazine in the world supported solely by its readers. CoEvolution Quarterly. $14/yr. PO Box 428. Sausalito, CA 94966.

"136+ BIBLICAL CONTRADICTIONS". $3. Crusade Publications, Dept U. Box 200, Redmond, WA 98052.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets cultured single, widowed o divorced persons acquainted. Established 1970. Nationwide. Write: Box AE, Swarthmore, PA 19081. Or ca (215) 566-2132.

WORLD PRESS WATCH, weekly review of world news $5 per 4 issues, $15 per 13 issues, $55 per year. Walte Brooks, PO Box 3025, Palm Beach, FL 33480.

QUERIES

AUTHOR'S QUERY

For a compendium of erroneous, untrue and just plai stupid statements by experts, we would appreciate hea ing of any sources, anecdotes, documents, etc. about ir expert authorities in any field, in any age. Write Natio Box 80.

REAL ESTATE

BEAUTIFUL HAWAII—Vacation apartments. Fre brochure: Paradise, 50 S. Beretania, C207, Honolulu, H 96813. (808) 538-7145. Toll Free U.S. to HI (80(367-5205.

RECIPES

FAMOUS CINCINNATI chili recipe plus 4 authentic G dishes. Send $3 to: Kenco, PO Box 24, Xenia, OH 453

WEST COAST SEAFOOD RECIPES. Shellfish, salmon an more. $2. MORCO, Box 794(T), Shelton, WA 98584.

T-SHIRTS

"THE MORAL MAJORITY IS NEITHER" Tee-shirts, $ sweatshirts, $14, 50/50, white on wine. Bottomlir Designs, PO Box 194, Jackson, NJ 08527.

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION:*

RATES: $.75 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Copy deadline 17 days prior to week of publication. Payment must accompany order.

Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for two insertions of your ad, and we will print a third insertion free!

TO: *THE NATION*
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. N.Y. 10011

Enclosed is my check for $____ for my advertisement to run ____ weeks

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

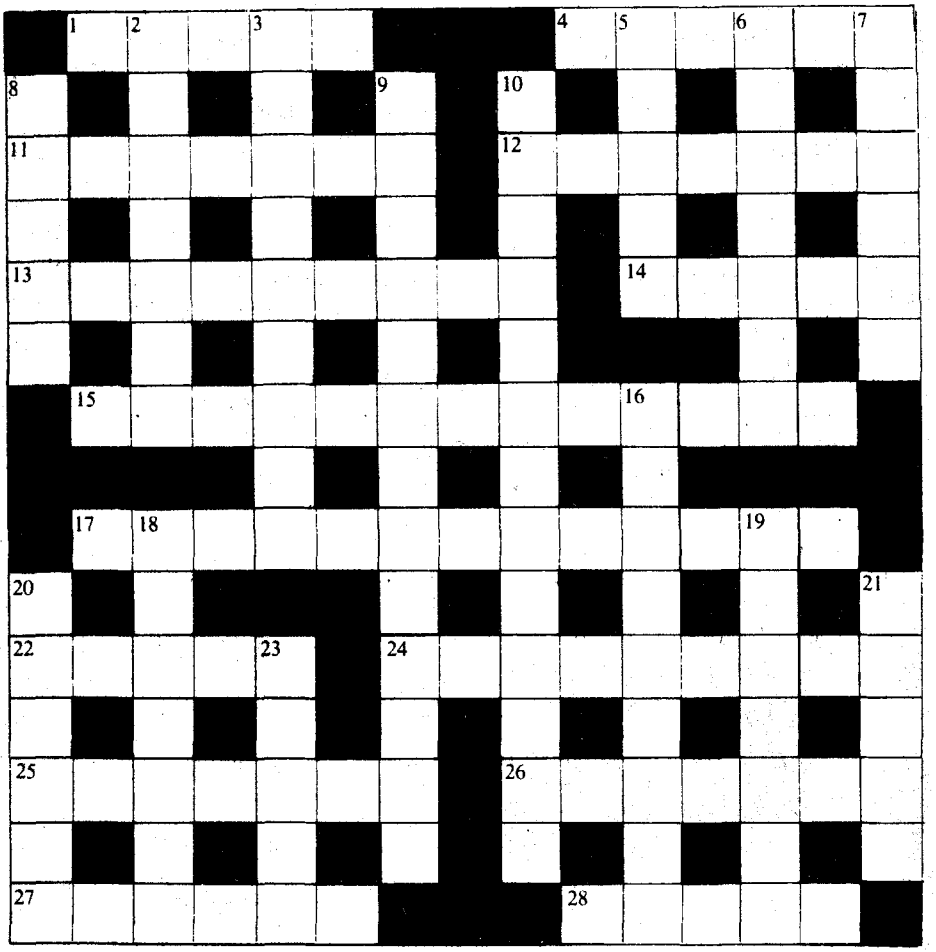
Copy: _____

Payment in U.S. currency

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 1928

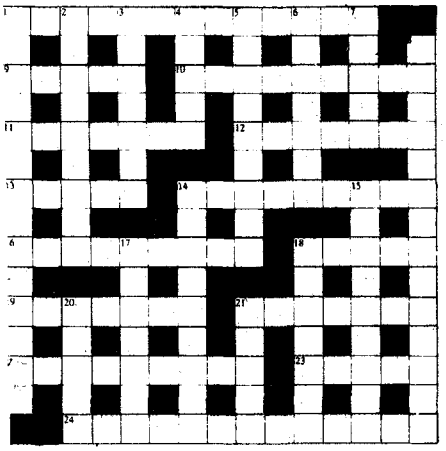
FRANK W. LEWIS



RE PUZZLE NO. 1927

Those of you who felt baffled, bothered and betrayed by last week's puzzle were right: we inadvertently printed the wrong puzzle box. The correct one for last week's clues is reproduced below. If you threw away your issue in disgust, write us, and we'll send you a free copy. Frank Lewis is blameless in this entire affair.

CROSSWORD PUZZLE NO. 1927



MOVING?

ATTACH MAILING LABEL HERE

Don't miss a single issue of THE NATION.

New address:

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Please allow 6-8 weeks for processing.

Mail to: THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305

LOCAL ONE AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA NEW YORK X-52?

ACROSS

1 and 4 Having a rotten core, with all being still professional. (5,6)
11 Ketch, for example. (It's no good having an enemy of the Jews about!) (7)
12 Man to man, reputedly? It's brutal! (7)
13 Might be responsible for advancement of a certain type—but it's not a cultivated tonal standard. (4,5)
14 What Johnny and Annie might have to do in repeat performances—getting back a large number. (5)
15 Not a forced confession—no one makes a charge with it. (4,9)
17 How they acted originally on July 4? (13)
22 One might be happy to cut such a flower bud in season . . . (5)
24 . . . since these are necessary to savor things like it. (9)
25 If you think you may have one, there's little work in a certain particle of it . . . (7)
26 . . . and you might consider the above without a certain ratio as being this, concerning a point the monarch made. (7)
27 Put to sleep, perhaps. (6)
28 My! This doesn't have one! Such stories! (5)

DOWN

2 If such a dealer started with a hundred, he might have what some make light of. (7)
3 Watch, for example, what a repeater might have been (or a turnip, for that matter). (9)
5 From which Solomon got gold and precious stones. (5)
6 If such pain started quietly, the lead would be obvious. (7)
7 I might consider it near me, to recall something, in a sense. (6)
8 Demonstrates things that must go on, traditionally. (5)
9 It could be untied on a reputedly wild place, and with alternative results in the fall. (6,2,5)
10 By this, one doesn't necessarily mean the Electric Company. (5,8)
16 Inasmuch as trust follows it, it's frequently yours, just before you sign. (9)
18 A bent nail put badly inside it pertains to an important ceremony for some. (7)
19 The production of oil thus, but only a boor would be so. (7)
20 A lot of fishes where Mary obviously went first. (6)
21 The practice of a socially acceptable wise man? (5)
23 A rise, peculiarly, or what the British call a rise. (5)

PUZZLED?

No more cross words; write for a free copy of Frank W. Lewis's "ground rules" c/o *The Nation.* Learn why "little skipper" is a "truant."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IF YOU'RE WORRIED ABOUT THE COUNTRY, TRY

The Nation

P.O. Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305

YES!!! Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for $12.00, a savings of 60% off the newsstand price and 20% off the regular subscription price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!

☐ Please bill me later.

NAME _____
(PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

D8232

SEND *THE NATION* TO A FRIEND! (And save $3.)

Please send 24 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just $12.00 for the first and $9.00 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

GIFT TO _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ Enclosed is $ _____ for _____ subscription(s).
(Extend each subscription FOUR FREE ISSUES.)

☐ Bill me later.

D8232

Add $3.50 postage for each foreign subscription. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

60% OFF NEWSSTAND PRICE

SAVE AN ADDITIONAL $3.00

LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED